

J. Bernal - against Indians Santa Clara
1848

Juan Bernal (native Californian and soldier in the San Francisco Company) in 'Memoria' given to the Bancroft Library tells of the following campaign against Indian horse thieves in the mountains about Santa Clara.

In April 1848, we went to a rodeo at Juan Alvires' (11)
Rancho de La Laguna -- about 20 persons, laborers, va-
queros, and proprietors. Robert Livemore was going
with us, commissioned by Suter to receive 1000 head of
cattle that we were to deliver to him. We were occupied
with the rodeo when we found in the Ojo del Coche, road
from Monterey, many tracks of horses, and near them (12)
3 beasts killed by arrows. When the rodeo was finished
and we were all together, we determined to follow the
Indians who had taken away the horses. To this end,
some of us were commissioned to look for arms in the
neighboring ranches, others to kill an ox and roast meat
for provisions, and others to prepare everything neces-
sary for the expedition. When they arrived with the
arms, some with old guns, swords, muskets, knives, and
some even with cudgels, and when the provisions were ready,
16 men, mounted and armed, set forth on the trail of the
Indians. The names of those I remember are as follows:
Pedro Chaboya, Antonio Ma. Pico, Demesio Berreyesa, Mariano
Hernandez, Agustin Bernal, Bruno Bernal, Robert Livemore,
Juan Pablo Bernal (myself), José Higuera, José Bernal, (13)

(13)

Cornelio Hernandez, Isidro Higuera; José Bernal, nicknamed Cacalote ^{the} (Blunderer) was the one who followed the trail. Going through ravines, climbing hills, crossing arroyos and avoiding precipices, we came to a point near the summit of San Luis Gonzaga, on a lake, that was between high mountains. On the road the ~~beasts~~ ~~off~~ ~~four~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~com-~~pany grew tired and they returned so that only those that I have mentioned arrived at the lake. José Bernal, a man thoroughly experienced in following trails was the first to discover them. There were nine Indians; some were bathing in the lake, others roasting horse-meat, and others combing wool. Bernal, taking care that the Indians should not perceive him, returned to where we were as we came on behind, and told us that there were the Indians. Then we conferred as to the manner of attacking them so that not one should escape. (14) It was unanimously resolved, on the proposal of Chaboya, to surround them leaving no avenues by which they could escape. This was done very quietly so that the Indians should not suspect our strategy. Then José de Jesus Bernal, as had previously been agreed upon, went to explore the enemy's camp, undressing himself and crawling like a snake through the tule to the shores of the lake, where he could see every movement of the Indians without their seeing him. After a little he returned with the same secrecy, and told us in a low voice that we might make the attack, that the Indians were unsuspecting. As we did so, we were by the side of the lake where they

could more easily escape, to cut off their retreat.

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When they observed that we were upon them, they ran to get their arms. Those that were bathing hastened to come out, and naked as they were, they armed themselves as best they could. Then they began to dance their war dances, jumping now here and now there, gesturing and making horrible menacing contortions as if to draw their bows, and howling until it seemed as if there were 3000 of them there. One of them said, "Right now, you cowards are going to die;" hearing this, José Higuera, who was standing on a little elevation, drew out his pistols and showing them to the Indians said in their own language, "Right now, you are going to die, for we have many pistols, and balls and powder enough to kill you." These words inspired such terror in the enemy that every one attempted to escape from his own side but we narrowed in on them, and fought them man to man. Some of our company got their lassoes ready. My brother, Bruno Bernal, followed an Indian with his lasso, and as they went down a hill succeeded in getting it round his neck. He ran with him to where we were and said to us: "I followed this rascal who had only one arrow in his hand to defend himself and got him with my reata." The Indian's body was all bruised, and bending down from our horses to look at him, we saw that he was dead. I grappled with one of the enemy, and escaping from the many arrows he discharged at me, succeeded in putting a ball through his haunches from side to side. The Indian fell face down.

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~~fell face down.~~ On seeing this, Cornelio Hernandez, who (16)
was near me, ran up to the Indian saying 'Now the rascal
is dead,' but as he came near, the Indian suddenly raised
himself and let fly an arrow, which pierced below the
Adam's apple and stuck there. The Indian, who perhaps (17)
had used his last strength in this attack, fell over back-
ward dead. Hernandez, badly wounded though he was, dragged
himself up to the body, and seizing a warknife which the
Indian wore, tried to plunge it into his ribs. It broke
but with the bit that remained, he succeeded in making
a great wound, and as he laid bare his heart with this
piece of knife, he said, as if the corpse could hear, "I
forgive you brother, I forgive you." I was looking out
for his wound, when I heard my nephew calling me, 'Come,
uncle, José Higuera and I have three Indians.' I left
Hernandez and ran to where they called me. Here all the
company, except Hernandez, had assembled. I said the
sun is on the wane and the Indians will get away from us.
My brother Agustin and Robert Livermore answered, 'You
are so brave because you have not encountered them.' (18)
Pedro Chaboya then said to me, 'You with your two Josés
attack them on this side, and I with Demesio Berreyessa
and Mariano Hernandez will do so on the other. And so we
did. Chaboya fought hand to hand with an Indian, who
although already advanced in years, discharged his arrows

with extraordinary agility. Finally Chaboya succeeded (18) in killing him. His clothing was all torn from arrows, but I do not know that he had any wounds. On the other side also the combatants were pitted against each other; the Indians were dying one by one, pursued on all sides by the enemy, who were well-mounted and with better arms than they. The group last spoken of was occupied in following two Indians of the three that they had approached, who fled in the direction of the lake where they flung themselves. We succeeded in killing one of them but the other escaped. When the body was pulled out, Demesio (19) Berryesa took off his ears to take them away as a trophy of war. Note that the body was riddled with lances and balls and remained on the shore of the lake about a hundred varas away from where we were camped for the night. Out of nine Indians only one escaped. The others were left stretched out on the field of action, and we did not care to bury their bodies.. Cornelio Hernandez was gravely wounded in the neck and his brother Mariano slightly wounded in the hand. We retired to camp for the night leaving some of our companions to care for the horses of which the Indians had robbed us, which consisted of 160 head not counting those that had been killed on the road. As Cornelio believed his condition to be serious, he said when we carried him to camp that he wanted to make a will. Antonio Ma. Pico offered to write it for him. . . .

We were engaged in this when we heard a noise as of (21) branches rustling. We all looked on that side and saw an

Indian coming step by step and staggering as if he were drunk. Everybody was frightened. Antonio Ma. Pico said to Peter Chaboya, 'You go to meet him, you are the better man', but he replied 'No, you go, you are so brave.' And so they quarreled a long while until loosing all patience they took their guns to shoot each other. But Jose Higuera said by this time that he would kill the Indian. So he took his rifle, and with the tule serving as a shield, he went to where the Indian was. After a little he returned laughing heartily and saying that what frightened us was the Indian without ears that had been left for dead on the edge of the lake, who had gotten up with the idea of getting Christianized perhaps, but had lacked strength, and when he went back to attack him, he found him really dead. (21) (22)

The next morning we broke camp and returned with the sick and the horses. . .

Three months after this, Cornelio and Mariano Hernandez went to the Sierra de San Felipe to hunt deer.. Both brothers were noted among the savages for their valor, their skill in the use of firearms, and for their campaigns against the savages, which they always enjoyed. For all these things they were hated by the horse thieves. Cornelio was more skillful than his brother.

One night they were in camp at eleven o'clock, and heard a noise. Cornelio said to his brother 'I hear a noise.' He answered, 'No matter, if they are Indians they will run at our shots; if bears they will run from our fire.'

As he said this a great noise assailed them and they (23)
saw what appeared to be many Indians (there were perhaps
fifteen) who set out to kill them. They had no time to
take their arms nor to untie the horses, only to cut
their halters. Mariano could mount bareback, but Cornelio
could not do this and could only seize the horse's tail
and let himself be dragged by the horse. The Indians
followed them making for Cornelio, whose brother was able
to save him, taking him up on his own horse.

Juan Bernal, Memoria, pp. 11-23, MS, Bancroft Library, 1877

B.F. Bonney to Sutter's Fort
1845-46

B.F.BONNEY'S OVERLAND TRIP TO SUTTER'S FORT, CALIFORNIA
IN 1845-46

Fred Lockley in his Recollections of Benjamin Franklin Bonney quotes Bonney in regard to various events along the way to Ft. Hall, Idaho, and thence to Sutter's Fort at what is now Sacramento, Calif. in 1845-46.

At Independence, Missouri, "Indians were camped all around and were anxious to trade buffalo robes for shirts, powder" and other things.

At Independence the party joined the Barlow wagon train bound for Ft. Hall, Idaho, and thence to Sutter's Fort, Calif.

Later, while crossing a sagebrush desert, they came upon an Indian. One of the men (a man named Kinney) took a pair of handcuffs and, jumping off his mule, struck the Indian over the head, put handcuffs on him and dragged him to the wagon. Then, telling his wife to drive on, "He slashed the Indian across the naked shoulders with the black-snake whip as a hint not to pull back. The Indian threw himself on the ground and was pulled along by his neck. Kinney kept slashing him to make him get up, till finally the Indian got up and trotted along behind the hack.

For several days Kinney rode back of the Indian, slashing him across the back with the black-snake to do what he called 'break his spirit.' After a week or ten days Kinney untied the Indian and turned him over to his ox driver, telling him to break the Indian in to drive the ox team..."

"After the Indian had been with Kinney for over three weeks, one dark windy night he disappeared. Kinney called the Indian his man Friday. In the morning when Kinney got up he found the Indian had taken a blanket as well as Kinney's favorite Kentucky rifle-- a gun he had paid \$100 for. He had also taken his powder horn, some lead, and three hams. Kinney was furious. I never saw a man in such a temper in all my life. Every one in the train rejoiced that the Indian had escaped but they all appeared to sympathize with Kinney for they were afraid of being killed if they showed any signs of satisfaction. Kinney saddled his mule, took his dog along, and started out to track the Indian. The wind had blown sand in ridges and hummocks, covering the Indian's trail. So after hunting for half a day in all directions and being unable to track him, Kinney returned to the wagon train and we started on."

"... One day when John Greenwood was acting as pilot, an Indian suddenly raised from the sage brush, frightening John's horse. John had a fine riding horse, one of the best I have ever seen. As his horse reared he jerked it savagely. It nearly unseated him. Several of the young men laughed. This made John Greenwood furious. He declared he would kill the Indian for scaring his horse. John took his gun from in front of his saddle and pointed it at the Indian. The Indian threw up his hands. The young men with John remonstrated with him and told him that the Indian meant no harm and not to shoot. One of the young men called to the Indian to run. The Indian obeyed and started to run away at full speed. This was too much for John, who drew a quick bead and fired, shooting him through the back. The Indian fell forward face downward in the sand."

Bojorges - campaign against
Estanislao

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE CHIEF ESTANISLAO

[One under Pacheco and two under Sanchez]

Juan Bojorges, a native Californian born in 1806, who served many years in the company at the Presidio of San Francisco, taking part in several campaigns against the Indians, in Recollections of California History dictated for the Bancroft Library, gives the following account of campaigns against the Chief Estanislao, in which Bojorges took part.

In April 1827, 40 soldiers commanded by Pablo Pacheco set out from the Presidio of San Francisco for the Estanislao River because the Chief Estanislao had refused obedience to the Padres of San Jose Mission, Padre Narciso Durán and Padre Buenaventura (whose first name I do not recall). And also because this great chief had lured away many of the Indians of the Missions of San José, Santa Clara, and San Juan Bautista. After five days of travel we arrived at the aforesaid river where we found the Indians encamped on a high wall of the river in a large bend where there was a grove of oak, willow and live oak. This had but two very narrow entrances, and there the Indians together with many horses had withdrawn, having on the side toward the river a strong stockade of split-up trees and behind these an enclosure where they were concealed, the men buried even, and from there they made a strong defense. Commander Pacheco at once sent the interpreter who accompanied us from the Mission of San José to say that the Christian Indians whom they were holding there must be given up; [15]

to which Estanislao replied that he would give up none of [16]
of them, that if we were men we would come and get them,
adding many insulting words in Spanish and discharging a
great number of arrows that wounded our men, while they
discharged a volley of balls as they retreated outside the
grove to camp a little distance beyond it. One soldier
who showed himself in reconnoitring the bank, received an
arrow wound in the side of the face. Commander Pacheco
consulted with the reunited soldiers as to what they could
do, telling them that he was ashamed to return to San Fran-
cisco and say that they had done nothing because of the
inaccessible place where they found the Indians, and the
fact that the river was too much swollen to permit crossing
to the other side. The soldiers seeing that in truth nothing
could be done, unanimously resolved to return to the Presidio.
Captain Arguello in view of the location of the Indians [could [17]
say absolutely nothing. Commander Pacheco had to endure the
jokes of his companions, the other officers, and some of the
soldiers because on his first campaign he had been able to
do nothing to the Indian enemy.

Some two months after this, by order of Captain
Don Luis Antonio Arguello, Don José Sanchez of San Francisco,
set out for San Jose' to unite with Ensign Don Mariano G.
Vallejo who was in command of the company of Monterey. Both
forces together amounted to 200 soldiers which together with
those of Alcalde Alvirez who went as an auxiliary with some

citizens of San José and an Indian force brought up the number [17]
to 250. They all set out together from the Mission of San
José provided with arms and a little swivel cannon which
was loaded on a mule as were also the arms and provisions.
After four days on the road they sighted the company of the
Indian Estanislao, intending to enter the forest to which I
have already referred. They immediately began to fire upon
them with cannon and carbines and the Indians defended them-
selves with bows and arrows. The Indians straightway hit four
citizens of the auxiliaries wounding one mortally, who afterwards [18]
died at his home in the pueblo of San José. I do not know if
any of the Indians were killed or wounded, because no one
penetrated to their camp. The soldiers of Monterey said to
those from San Francisco that they were going to take the
Indians and their chief by force. But neither one of them in
the end did anything to the enemy, returning almost at once to
the point from which they had set out.

It happened that the writer did not go out with this
company because he was yet convalescing from a wound in the face
near the left eye, but all this was told him by his companions
when they talked about the campaign at different times and also
from talks with the citizens who went as auxiliary from the
pueblo of San José under the command of Alcalde Don Juan Alvirez.

Already before this campaign the Company from San
Francisco had set out alone under the leadership of Ensign José
Sanchez, to the number of 40 soldiers and 40 Indian auxiliaries [19]

of the Mission of San José. This campaign was more unfortunate [19] than the former, because the Ensign lost three of his men, one of them being taken alive by the Indians who kept him until our troops had withdrawn. Then Estanislao sent for Indians of other rancherias to witness the manner in which they killed him. They hung him up by his feet to the bough of an oak tree and began to shoot arrows at him. The name of this unfortunate soldier was Andres Meza. As soon as he was dead they cut him down and burned him. Another of the soldiers was killed by his own companions by a shot that was fired on the Indians from the opposite side. This soldier was called Ignacio Pacheco. The other soldier named Antonio Soto died at San José as a result of a wound in the left eye that almost reached the brain.

In this campaign seven more soldiers were wounded, among them the writer. In this condition they retreated very sadly, traveling very slowly [in order to be careful of the [20] wounded.

I forgot to mention that when we set out from the woods where we had fought the Indians of Estanislao, Ensign Sanchez discovered that four soldiers were missing. He then ordered that we return to the wood... to see if we could secure them, meeting two of them on the road, much wounded, helping each other along and saying do not leave me comrade, and threatening the Indians with their unloaded carbines, but they could not have made it, as the Indians followed very close, and they were protected by their shields and leather;

and if we had not come to the rescue they would have been [20]
killed. The troop meeting these two men behind the wood,
shot at the Indians who withdrew and dragging their friends
to the backs of their horses rescued them in this manner
from danger. One of these soldiers was named Manuel Cena
and the other Lorenzo Pacheco.

Ensign Sanchez insisted on rescuing the other two
who remained, one named Manuel Peno and the other Ignacio
Pacheco, but the soldiers would not obey, telling the Ensign [21]
that if they entered the wood they would lose more men. Then
he ordered them to beat the drum as they retreated, and when
they were entirely out of the wood, Estanislao set out with
sufficient Indians and shot the two soldiers with a carbine
belonging to one of their own companions, throwing his hat
up, shrieking insults and mentioning some of the soldiers
by name.

Description of Estanislao. He was a man 6 feet in height,
with skin more nearly white than copper-color, well formed,
with much hair and his face covered with a beard; born at the
Mission of San José and a servant there, employed as vaquero
or herder of mules, being an Indian of good character spoiled
by the friendship of other Indians of his rancheria in visits
which he made them, staying away in revolt on one such visit.

Bojorges, Juan, Recuerdos sobre la Historia Calif.
[Recollections about California History] MS, Bancroft Library,
pp. 15-21, 1877

Translated by S. R. Clemence, April 1917.

J. Bojorges - campaigns against
moqueldmos

EARLY CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE MOQUELAMOS

Juan Bojorges, a native Californian, born in 1806, (who served as a soldier for many years in the San Francisco Company), in Recollections dictated for the Bancroft Library, tells of early campaigns against the Moquelamos Indians to bring them in to Christianize them, and also of the Padres' method of government in the missions.

"When I had served 3 years as a soldier [in 1827?] [4]
I was one of an expedition that set out from San Francisco to the number of 40 soldiers commanded by Sergeant Francisco Soto, on the way taking from the Missions of San Jose' and Santa Clara, 40 Indians on foot as auxiliaries,—there being an Indian for every soldier.

"We set out for the rancheria of the Moquelamos Indians, as we were going to conquer them and bring them to San Jose' and Santa Clara to serve in both missions. Nothing of interest occurred on the way, and after six days of travel we arrived in the morning at the aforesaid rancheria, where the Indians were expecting us. The battle begun at 8 in the morning and lasting until one of the afternoon was so heavy that some of the soldiers loaded their carbines twice, because they could not hear whether they had been discharged or not, the carbine of Jose' Maria Gomez bursting and wounding him mortally in the forehead. . . We withdrew to a little [5]
grove of willows and located ourselves behind them, passing the night with every precaution, on guard and without light so that we might not be seen, and sending a shot from time to

time to frighten them and let them know that we were on [5]
guard. On the following day, by means of interpreters,
he ordered them to surrender with the threat if they did
not agree, we would slaughter them all. Finally they con-
cluded to surrender, and more than 100 men, women, and chil-
dren gave themselves up. But the soldiers, noting that all
of the people of the rancheria were not on hand, went to
the grove to hunt for those that were hidden, finding many
in holes covered with branches, and others in the tops of
willows. But of the Indians whom they had killed, they found
none, because they had been buried immediately.

All the conquered Indians being brought together,
he asked them by means of an interpreter for something to
eat, since neither the soldiers nor the auxiliaries had
had food the night of the blockade. The Indians then brought
roasted deer-meat and baskets filled with atole made from a [6]
seed called Chual¹ which they gave to the soldiers. But Ser-
geant Soto, being warned by the writer that it was necessary
to be careful lest the Indians had poisoned the food, after
the affront of being conquered, asked if I had a silver peso
in my pocket. I said yes, and he ordered me to put half of
the peso in one of the baskets of atole, and after a moment
withdrew it, the half of the peso turning entirely black, a
sure sign of poison. After seeing this, no soldier took any
of the food.

¹Possibly a species of Chenopodium.

Immediately after this we started on the march with [6]
the Indians taking great care that they should not get away
on the road, and in the night the Indians slept surrounded by
the soldiers, half the auxiliaries and half the soldiers
being left on guard in order to prevent the prisoners escaping.
After this fashion we traveled without event until our arrival
at San José Mission, where the prize was delivered to Padres
Narciso Duran and Buenaventura, leaving at the Mission the [7]
party of Christian Indians who had helped us, together with
other Christian Indians who had previously fled from this
mission; those that remained were taken to the guard-house,
being sent out by day to work and returning at night to
their prison as a punishment for having run away.

From San José we went to Santa Clara with the other
half of the auxiliaries that belonged to this mission, the
soldiers of the expedition returning to their quarters in the
Presidio at San Francisco.

I will tell something of the system of government
which the old padres used for the Indians subdued to Christian-
ity. Every year it was the custom for the Indians through
their chief to present themselves to the missionary Fathers
to ask permission to go to their land for two reasons: the
first was to go to see their land, so that other rancherias [8]
might not occupy it and make it necessary to fight to make them
give it up; and the second, for the purpose of collecting the
wild seeds on which they lived. These seeds were from the plant

commonly called in the country by the name of Yarcas. They [8]
were black and oily with an agreeable flavor and from them
they made a drink called atole. They also ground it in
order to eat it. They cooked another seed that they called
Topo, which they ground and made into flour finally eating
it dry. This also was of a very agreeable flavor. Finally
they gathered the acorn of the oak and live oak to make their
atole. After gathering all these, a part of the Indians came
to the Mission when the Padres sent for them by means of a
runner they sent out. They came, not through any affection
felt for the Padres of the Mission but because of their inter-
est in the blankets and clothing given them to keep them warm.
Likewise the Indian women came for their share of petticoats
which were made in the missions. The remainder of the Indians
stayed in their rancheria, always with the permission of the [9]
Padres, who realized that it was impossible to make them for-
get the land in which they were born. The Padres took the
precaution to relieve the Indians from year to year. Those
that stayed in the rancheria came to the mission in their
turn, but those that came returned laden with dried meat,
wheat, beans, etc. with which they went back well content
after having worked in the harvests of the missions and being
provided with the coarse clothing given them to keep them
in subjection, without which they would forget they were
Christians.

I remember that this obedience of the Moquelamos, [9]
to whom I have referred, lasted only four or five years,
because after that they refused to come to the Mission when
the Padres sent for them. But after a little time Padre
Duran sent for the greatest chief of the rancherias of San
Jose' named Elimundo and told him he was to go to the rancheria
of the Moquelamos and bring back the Indians for their goods.
To this Elimundo replied that he would go to see if he could [10]
bring them for the goods, but if they did not wish to do
that, they should come by force. It is to be supposed that
Padre Narciso accepted this proposition because he distributed
some large knives among the people of Elimundo in order that
they might set out on a campaign. After this fashion he set
out with a hundred Indians all on foot for the rancheria of
the Moquelamos. Elimundo arrived there and told them it
would be well if they would go as the Padres commanded to
the Mission, but the Moquelamos would not obey. Then Chief
Elimundo took arms against them and they fought each other,
Elimundo being conquered, and his troops scattering retreated
little by little to the mission. / Many Indians on both sides were killed. The Padres as soon as they
knew of the loss of Elimundo's people, sent to double the
company, and then there was heard a great weeping in the
rancheria of San Jose'. Some wept for their sons, others for
their husbands and relatives, and others for their friends.
This lasted for some days, but the Padre commanded the al-
caldes to tell them not to weep so much, that neither he nor
the soldiers of the guard could sleep. With this the Indians

went away calmed in their grief for the loss of their people. [11]
Then the Moquelamos with much boldness sent a challenge to those at the Mission. The padres knowing this, commanded all the Indians to unite, together with the large number of vaqueros they had, and troops, and Father Durán told all these people that the Moquelamos insulted them. That they had sent to say that they were going to come to burn the Mission and to kill everybody in it. Soldiers and Indians put on their arms and at night the soldiers watched the roads by which they could come. While the Indians on their part did equal service. At night the Padres set off rockets to frighten the Moquelamos in case they were near and show them that the people were on guard. This care lasted for some time, but in the end the Indians did not come and everything remained as before. All these events I have related occurred while Commander José Bernal was in charge of the garrison of San José Mission.

Bojorges, Juan, *Recuerdos sobre la Historia Calif.* [Recollections about Calif. History], MS, Bancroft Library, pp. 4-11, 1877.

Translation by S. R. Clemence, April 1917.

J.C. Burondo - against Indian Thavel.

Jose Canuto Borondo (a native Californian and a soldier serving in the Monterey and San Francisco companies) in Recollections dictated for the Bancroft Library gives the following note on a campaign against the Tachi rancheria.

"When I was a raw recruit, we went on a campaign to 14
the rancheria of Tachi, I saw one of our Indian auxiliaries from San Miguel hunt down an old Indian woman, whose hair was entirely white and who seemed to me more than 100 years old. The Indian was going to kill her when I stopped him. But he had already discharged an arrow which pierced her skin on one side but did not enter her body. Arrows rained in my direction and I had to defend myself from them. When I could turn my head I saw my Indian had covered the poor woman with wood and had set fire to it to burn the woman alive. I ran to her and with my lance freed her from the burning wood, when an arrow aimed at me lodged in the brim of my hat, Sergeant Espinosa, who was in command, called to me to leave the old woman and look out for myself. But I succeeded in removing the wood that was on top of her, although Juan Cabot told me that this was not an opportune occasion for making a show of charity and to take care of myself. The Indians ran for the lake and passed into the tules where it was not possible to follow them, because they and other Indians had caves from which they discharged their arrows. In some places everything looked the same, and

going over, one went to the bottom, horse and all. These
pitfalls were especially dangerous because the Indians
finished up with lances before one could get out."

José Canuto Borondo, Notas Historicas sobre California
[Historical Notes on California] 14315, MS, Bancroft
Library, 1878.

Padre Juan Cabot - exped. to rancherias
of Tulare Lake ~~1814~~ 1814

EXPEDITIONS TO RANCHERIAS OF TULARE LAKE, 1804, 1814.

Reports of 2 expeditions from San Miguel Mission to the Tulare region are given in the Mission Archives. The first [86] by Padre Juan Martin, 1804, mentions rancherias of Bubal, Tache, Chumtache, Notonto and Telame. Martin writes:

^{first} "I started out on the 3 day of November and came to the [87] place of the rancheria Bubal, to which I gave the name La Selve."

Martin - Vista a los Gentiles Tulareños, 1804, Archivos de la Mision de Santa Barbara. Extracts made for Bancroft library, Vol. VI, pp. 86, 87, 1876.

The second is in a letter from Padre Juan Cabot to the President, April 11, 1815, and is a diary of an expedition which went with him to the Valley of the Tulares in 1814.

Oct. 2, 1814. -- Set out from mission of San Miguel. At 8 at night camped at a little water hole that there is at [67] the edge of the plain of the Tulare.

Oct. 3.-- At daybreak followed the road through an immense plain of arid land without trees, water, ... It was about 2 in the afternoon when we came to the first rancheria called Bubal which was on the edge of a thick, high tule and a lake. The reception that the natives of this rancheria [68] gave us was a very happy one, they prepared a house for me, and set out their poor food which they offered to the soldiers with much pleasure... This rancheria had about 700 people... The following day after having said mass we crossed the tule [69]

Cabot

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in search of the rancheria of Sumtache which contained about the same number of people as the preceding. We spent all day so that we could approach at night in order not to be seen and to enter the rancheria at daybreak. The object of this expedition was to pacify said rancheria and reconcile them with that of Bubal... but as they had been informed of our arrival and falsely informed that we were going to kill them (as they told us afterwards) they received us with arrows to defend themselves, until at 10 o'clock because of our balls and powder they had to withdraw, but they did not want to set out to the tular; only the captain went accompanied by some 7 to make peace with those of the rancheria of Bubal, so that now in truth they live as if they were one rancheria... After seeing the two rancherias at peace we set out for the river called San Gabriel which we reached at 4 in the afternoon and where we rested that night... It is known that from here one leaves the hilly country to enter the plain; as far as this place it is necessary to carry water and wood... Said river of San Gabriel is very full and of good water... The rancheria of the oaks of Telame, as the soldiers said, is 3 leagues from ^{the ford of} this river. We did not arrive at this rancheria by arrangement [71] of the Sergeant. This place is the only one, as those who have been here say, where a Mission or presidio could be founded. Said rancheria, according to information, is the One of the many confluent of the Kaweah system near Visalia (Priestley)

largest one of the tularé. El Pedro Muñoz who was there can inform Your Excellency. The following day we stopped at the river in order to go round the lake for the purpose of reaching the rancharia of Tachi, but 2 leagues before coming to said rancharia we found another called Guchame, but all the people were frightened and had gone into the tule. This rancharia I am informed has not more than 200 People. About two in the afternoon we finally came to said rancharia of Tache which as I am informed, and from the houses, has about 1000 people. But we found only 36 men and 6 women, because the other people had hidden in the tularé and lake and although we were near this rancharia for 2 days on the bank of the river Reyes, we could see no one, except the few we had seen before, for they had abandoned the rancharia ..."

Juan Cabot - Expedidion al Valle de los Tulares, 1814,
Archivos de la Mision de Santa Barbara. Extracts made for
Bancroft Library, Vol. VI, pp. 67-72, 1876.

Dr. H. I. Priestley in an article on Expeditions from California Missions (galley proof, unpublished) gives a brief abstract of Cabot's diary. His identifications of localities are here given in footnotes.

Don Pedro Fages - Route of Portola exped.

1769

ROUTE OF THE PORTOLA EXPEDITION GIVEN IN

NOTES FROM THE PORT OF MONTEREY, AND HISTORICAL DIARY
OF THE JOURNEYS MADE TO THE NORTH OF CALIFORNIA^[Lower]

By Don Pedro Fages

. . . . On the first journey by land, between the 14th and the 25th of July, 1769, our company of explorers made 10 days marches from San Diego to San Francisco Solano, a distance estimated at 26 leagues in a direction varying occasionally and slightly from the N and NW toward the W.

The places examined on the march during this journey were, as they were named, as follows: First, the Cañada of San Diego (which was well-grassed), 2 leagues distant from the port of the same name. Second, the Poza de Osuna[✓] or de San Jacome de la Marca, which is also a pleasant beautiful canyon all covered with pasture and in some places probably as much as 20 yards wide, with a few trees and a quantity of water collected in numerous pools. This place was distant from the preceding one about 4 leagues, the way being easy of transit and abounding in pasture. Our course was always northwestward insofar as the lay of the land permitted. Though the country was void of undergrowth and not at all rough, it was broken by numerous moderate-sized hills that all sloped uniformly to the level of the sea, the waters of which penetrated between the hills through several channels where salt is deposited in abundance.

[✓]Posa, French ed. 1844.

Third: 3 leagues to the N and NW over high ground interspersed with hills similar to those just mentioned, in a delightful spot wooded with alders and thick shrubbery with very abundant pasture, one comes to a pasture which was called San Alejos.[✓] Water is not abundant, nor is it entirely lacking; it was necessary to dig out the sand and make pools so as to water the animals from a small spring.

Fourth: 2 leagues farther on there was another canyon, swampy and better supplied with water, which was named Santa Sinforosa.[✓] It was covered in places with reeds, and contained abundant pasture throughout.

Fifth: Another 2 leagues farther on, there is a very delightful and pleasantly picturesque valley of ample proportions, into which there converge from the N and NE a number of canyons in which is formed a pool or swamp which supplied us satisfactorily with water. The place was named San Juan Capistrano.

Sixth: Continuing through canyons and along gentle hill slopes, one passes through pleasant pasture lands to another spot 2 leagues distant from the preceding one. It is a spacious cheerful canyon, well wooded and well supplied with fresh water which has collected in numerous pools, although there is in the midst of it a fair-sized pond of brackish water. This place was named Santa Margarita.

[✓]San Alexo, French Ed. 1844.

[✓]Santa-Simphorosa, French Ed. 1844.

Seventh: Two leagues farther to the NW over hills of moderate height was a place to which the name of Los Rosales was given. It lay at the end of a canyon which contained plenty of water in numerous pools, and the entire locality abounded in rose-bushes.

Eighth: The Cañada del Bautismo is distant from the above place 2 leagues due N. It received its name from the happy incident of the baptism there of 2 dying children whom the missionary fathers found in that sad condition in the care of their Indian parents.

Ninth: Three leagues thence northwestward over a road somewhat broken but not very difficult, is found another canyon which was named Santa Maria Magdalena. It abounds in pasture, in willows, and in other trees, and there is a large quantity of water collected in pools.

Tenth: Finally, at a distance of 3 leagues farther on without change of direction, after passing through a canyon which opens into the Cañada de Santa Maria Magdalena, turning westward at the end of the canyon to the crest of some hills and thence crossing a wide stretch of level country, one enters another canyon through which, at the foot of a moderately high range, a good-sized stream flows among numerous trees. This is the place named San Francisco Solano . . .

It should be understood that the Mission of San Diego was founded on a hill commanding the port and the Punta de Gujarras.[✓] It was situated at the side of a stream which, flowing only during the rainy season, passes through a long spacious canyon . . .
[✓]Pointe de Cailloux, French Ed. 1844.

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Setting out from San Francisco Solano toward the N, over rather high hills easily traversed, one descends to a very spacious valley the level stretch of which extends as far as the eye can reach. In the first part of it there was found no watering-place save a very scanty one that was named after its discoverer, one of the missionary fathers who accompanied us, the Watering-place of Father Gomez.

Second: Continuing in the same direction across the plain, at a distance of 3 leagues there was found another stream of very good running water. It descended from the range, and must in the rainy season be of considerable swiftness and volume. The place was named Santiago.

Third: One league farther on there is a very beautiful river which showed signs of great floods and had many groves of willows. The entire vicinity possesses very good soil. . . . Here the name of Rio de los Temblores was bestowed . . .

Fourth: Leaving the plain and the seacoast to enter the mountains, we found when we had gone two leagues from the river some pools or springs in which there was water sufficient for the people but none for the animals. This was in a narrow canyon at a place which was named Los Ojitos.

Fifth: Crossing the level country in a N direction and gradually approaching the mountains, we encountered some quite rugged hills which had to be ascended. The descent from them is into a beautiful valley where there is water running in deep ditches and standing also in swampy pools. This valley must be over 3 leagues in width and much more in length.

It is called the Valle de San Miguel. ✓

Sixth: At a distance of 2 leagues to the NE, after traveling with much difficulty through fields of dry grass and brushwood, a swampy stream is reached which emerges from a clear open spot still within the same valley in front of a gap which opens toward the W. Some soldiers who had gone out to hunt antelopes, which abound there, said that they had seen a large river which rises close to the forest at the foot of a hill about half a league distant from our camp. Passing westward, then, in order to emerge from the valley by way of an opening between low hills, a wide canyon is entered after a journey of 2 more leagues. The canyon is well wooded with poplars and alders, among which a beautiful river flowing toward the northwest skirts the point of a steep hill and continues thence in a southerly direction. Toward the NNE there is seen another water-course or river-bed, which we found to be dry; it was joined to the canyon which we had just discovered, and bore plentiful evidence of heavy floods in the rainy season. It was named the Río de la Porciúncula. ✓

Seventh: Crossing the river and pursuing a WSW direction, one arrives, after traversing 3 leagues of high level land, at a watering-place which was named the Ojo de Agua de los Alisos. ✓ It was a large spring situated in a ravine, in which were growing trees of a great thickness of trunk; the entire ground was covered with pasture and shrubbery,

French Ed. 1844: ✓ Michel
 ✓ Portiúncula
 ✓ Fontaine des Alisiers

and there was some water-cress. . All the land along this march appeared admirable for the production of fruits and grains of all kinds.

Eighth: At 2 leagues distance from here by a good road through well-grassed fields which skirt the range, is another watering-place in a hollow surrounded by low hills near the seacoast. It was named the Ojo de Agua del Berrendo^V, from the circumstance that one of these animals had here been caught alive . . .

Ninth: From this place a NW route was chosen, toward the point where there appears to be an opening in the range; this is entered through a canyon between sheer hillsides which, finally becoming more accessible, make it possible to take the slope and ascend to the summit. From this a spacious pleasant valley is discovered; descending into it, one encounters a very large pool, capable of providing water in abundance. Near it there is a populous Indian village, the inhabitants of which, even to the children, are remarkably affable and peaceable. This valley must be about 3 leagues wide, its length extending to more than 8; it is entirely surrounded by a chain of mountains; to it the name of Valle de Santa Catalina¹² was given.

Tenth: Passing through this valley, which was named also the Valle de los Encinos¹³, one goes a matter of 3 leagues of its width in order to reach the foot of its range. Here there was water in abundance for the people but very little for the animals.

French Ed. 1844; Fontaine du Daim moucheté.¹⁴
 Sainte Catherine¹²
 Chênes-verts¹³

Eleventh: 4 leagues after entering the mountains, passing in part through a narrow canyon and in part along very high barren hills, the ascent of which is very difficult for beasts of burden, a small valley is reached; it extends into a pleasant slightly field, on the level expanse of which are seen many poplars and oaks of great size. This place was called the Rancheria del Corral.

Twelfth: If it is desired to continue from here to the N or NW, which are the directions which govern the journey to Monterey, it would be necessary to attempt the ascent of an immense cordillera of very high mountains, which present themselves to the right. But, by diverging for 3 leagues through a canyon, which runs for that distance to the WSW, one comes to halt on the bank of a stream which, although it has moderate flow during the night and early morning, soon dries up from the heat of the sun -- a peculiarity observed in some other streams from this point on. The soil of this long canyon or river-bed is all spongy and slippery, and the animals sink in it or slip at every step. It was called the Cañada de Santa Clara.

There were 7 Indian villages met with between San Francisco Solano and this place, They were all on the line of march near our camping places, and were quite populous . . .

Between San Francisco Solano and the Rio de Santa Clara is the new Mission of San Gabriel, established in that valley which was mentioned in number 5 under the name of San Miguel.

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[III]

By way of the Cañada de Santa Clara itself, which runs toward the WSW, after going 3 leagues, one encounters a stream of running water which descends from the range through a narrow canyon, emptying into the cañada which here has greater width. Near this place there is a populous village of Indians who live practically without shelter, under the open sky, within the limits of a thicket. The Indians seen exceeded 200.

Second: Three leagues farther, down-stream, over broken ground traversed by gullies which drained the mountain slopes in rainy season, we found a village which did not appear as populous as the preceding one, though the natives were less good-natured and solicitous in making us their customary gifts.

Third: Still 2 leagues farther down stream, one discovers a spacious plain which stretches southward and eastward to the sea; it is well grassed and has some groves of trees. The stream here rather deserves the name of a river, on account of the volume it acquires from numerous streams which empty into it on each side. Here a very small village was seen. Its peculiarity was that the inhabitants dwell in huts covered with grass, spherical in construction like half an orange, at the apex of which an air-hole was left for the escape of smoke and the entrance of light. These 3 places in which the camp was pitched were not distinguished by any names at all.

Fourth: Turning westward, one reached the sea after going 2 leagues, soon coming upon an established village, the most populous and best arranged of any so far as seen. It is situated on a point or tongue of land right on the beach . . 30 houses, spherical and well-built. Inhabitants not less than 400. Called Pueblo de la Asumpta. ✓

Fifth: Passing along the beach for 2 leagues, camped near a temporary town of Indian fishermen, and this was the name given to that place, Rancheria Volante.

Sixth: On account of the extraordinary entertainment with which an Indian favored us (at a place) two leagues farther along the seashore where there is a populous town on a point of land right on the beach -- this Indian was a muscular man of good figure and a great dancer; who had seen us in Asumpta 2 days before -- on this account we named the town of which our friend was a resident, the Pueblo de Baylarin. ✓ Even more populous than the other and houses of same construction.

Seventh: A short stretch of beach follows, after which some high hills along the coast are passed in order to come to a stream of excellent water which flows from a canyon in the mountains where there were many willows. Another native town was here in sight; in it 32 houses were counted, and it was named Pueblo de la Carpinteria.

French ed. 1844: ✓ Asunta
 ✓ del Bailarin

Eighth: At 3 leagues distance, another village, most populous of them all, 600 souls. Situated near a lake of fresh water. Called Pueblo de la Laguna.

At a distance of 3 leagues from it, following the march are found the towns which we called the Pueblos de la Isla^u. It is thus that, going over level ground between the mountains and some hills which extend seaward, one comes in sight of a long bare point of land, on the eastern side of which a great estuary penetrates inland by two separate arms, which are probably about half a league distant from each other. This estuary runs close to the N side of a small hill which rises on a point of land and has the appearance of an island. On this hill, the verdure and forest growth of which makes a pleasing and harmonious picture, there is a populous Indian village, on which some one claims to have counted one hundred houses. The estuary spreads continually over the level ground eastward, forming various swamps and ponds of considerable extent, on the banks of which are discerned other towns of larger population.

Tenth: The coast which runs continually WNW from the Pueblo de la Asumpta to the Pueblo de las Islas, now extends almost directly W. Pursuing this for 2 leagues over high hills within sight of the ocean, then crossing a somewhat dense oak forest, one comes to a canyon where there is a good watering-place; on the slopes near the beach is a village so populous that it may well contain over 1000 inhabitants. We gave to this

✓French ed. 1844, de las Islas.

place the name San Luis Obispo de Tolosa.^k

Eleventh: By utilizing the time of low tide, one traverses a short remaining interval of beach, later to ascend some high hills broken by ravines and gullies, until arriving at a town of about 80 houses, which shelter perhaps some 800 people. The settlement is scattered on both sides of a canyon containing running water. This place was named San Guido; it is distant 3 leagues from San Luis Obispo.

Twelfth: At an equal distance by a road equally rough and difficult, there is discovered another town of nearly 50 fires; it stands likewise on the bank of a canyon which admits an influent estuary. These natives lack firewood and to provide themselves with water they are obliged to go up the canyon to obtain it from a tributary stream before the current becomes mingled with the saline water of the estuary. From this place, which we called San Luis Rey, were discerned the last 3 islands of the Canal de Santa Barbara; of these, the most western San Bernardo, the one lying next toward the E, Santa Cruz, and the other Santa Barbara,^v the easternmost.

Thirteenth: After traversing high ground with a very rough road, at times descending and again ascending rugged mountains and crags, at the end of 2 leagues one comes to San Zeferino,^v which was the name we gave to a place containing 24 houses, 200 Indians.

French ed. 1844; ^vSan Luis, Évêque de Toulouse
^vSainte-Barbe
^vSan Zepherino

Fourteenth: Going a short day's march of about 2 leagues, now by a more accessible road, though over high hills, a village is passed midway situated by the sea on a spacious beach just in sight of the Punta de la Concepcion, which is the end of the oft-mentioned Canal de Santa Barbara, and is on the same parallel as San Zeferino $34^{\circ} 30''$. Camp was pitched on the E side of a canyon, within which there is an Indian town of about 24 houses. Pueblo del Cajo, because chief lame.

Fifteenth: From Punta ^{de la} Concepcion a NW direction was taken, rounding the coast; at the end of 2 leagues and a half, another canyon was found, containing a town of 20 fires and 250 Indians more or less. Here penetrates still another estuary which prevents the current of the stream from reaching the sea. The natives of the village are exceedingly poor and so hungry that they can hardly subsist -- without canoes, on rough ground, and having a scarcity of firewood. Village called Rancheria de la Espada . . .

Sixteenth: Finally, after going two leagues over high ground of pleasing aspect, along the shore a spring of good water is found, and near it a poor village of only 10 houses and probably 60 inhabitants. Camped at a place near which a point or tongue of land projects into the sea. There we collected a great number of flints, so the place was named Los Pedernales.

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First: As one sets out from Los Pedernales toward the NNW across high land overlooking the sea and partly covered with sand dunes, there is at a distance of 2 leagues, a canyon with abundant pasture, though with but little water, which is collected in a pool. The canyon was named Canada Seca. The coast before one comes to the sand dunes is broken, being cut into numerous rocky points which extend into the sea.

Second: One league from this place is the Rio de San Verardo. Its mouth is entirely closed by a sand bank which it was possible to cross dryshod, its waters being dammed as it were and without current. But this is clearly understood by going to observe further up, where it is seen that the waters unite with the sea, reappearing after filtering through near the sand-bank. This river flows through a beautiful valley containing many willows, and the fields are capable of producing all kinds of grain. Very large bears were seen there, and there is a populous village.

Third: Two leagues to the N, over ground that is level, but very much overgrown with wild rosemary and trees of delicate perfume, after crossing a canyon that had abundant pasture, then ascending its northern slope, we discovered an Indian village on a moderate-sized lake, surrounded by low hills. These people were very poor, and without the shelter of houses so that we doubted with some reason if this place was their permanent abode. They made festival for us with

dancing, if with nothing else; as this was the place where the women were seen dancing, named Rancheria del Bayle de las Indias.

Fourth: We took the road inland from this point bearing northward to avoid the sand dunes and numerous bad stretches, but we could not entirely escape a chain of these (dunes), which, extending from the interior of the country, were encountered midway of the day's march; the trouble of overcoming this difficulty, however, did not last long. Going afterward along high hills and canyons containing very good land and better pasture, camp was pitched in a very spacious valley in which there is a lake of fresh water which may be some 2,000 yards long and perhaps more than half as wide. We did not deliberate long over naming this valley the Valle de la Laguna Larga; 3 leagues from the previous camping place, there were seen in the valley 2 villages, one very small and insignificant, the other containing a few more small houses made after their fashion.

Fifth: Crossing the valley which was 2 leagues wide in the NNW direction which we were pursuing, another league over high table lands was then traversed, until another large pond was found. It was almost circular in form in a canyon which some sand dunes obstructed, stopping the water from direct outlet to the sea; the canyon extends from E to W, and is covered with reeds and rushes in swampy puddly ground. Pond was called Laguna Redonda.

✓ French Ed. 1844; du Grand-Lac
 ✓ Lac Circulaire

Sixth: Inasmuch as the range which we were keeping in sight alternately recedes from and approaches the sea, our passage along the beach was here cut off by it absolutely. So, to avoid the marshes of the plains and the estuaries that reach to the foot of the range, we chose a westerly route over some sand-dunes at the narrowest places which must be a matter of half a league wide; then, descending to the beach and traversing it for something like a league toward the NNW, we again headed inland (turning E), crossing sand-dunes until we reached firmer ground by means of a tongue of land between 2 bodies of water. Later, resuming a northerly route, we entered the range through a pass or canyon wooded with live-oaks, alders, and other trees, pitching camp beside a stream covered with cresses. This day's march was 4 leagues long, and in the whole of it we came upon only one small village of very poor, ill-conditioned Indians. Those of the (village) just by our camping-place came during the day, etc. The cacique or commander of the village had a huge tumor (which they are accustomed here to call 'buche') that hung from his neck, and it instantly occurred to the soldiers to name the place Rancheria del Buchon.^v

Seventh: Following the canyoh of the preceding camping-place-- it turns NW here--and then after a short distance making our way over hills and high peaks not far from the sea, the road being rough and difficult, with frequent declivities and downward slopes,

yet pleasant and wooded white oaks and live-oaks, one encounters at a distance of two leagues (in which not a village is seen) a very narrow canyon encircled by very high hills; the canyon containing running water, and there is no lack of pasture for 30 or 40 animals.

Eighth: Continuing from here for 3 leagues of rough road over high, serrate hills, one finds on descending, another extensive canyon containing many pools of fresh water. As the animals cannot approach these pools close enough to drink on account of their miry margins, it is necessary to go on another league in quest of the watering-place. It is a stream of very good water and is of adequate volume. In this canyon were seen whole troops of bears; they have the ground all plowed up from digging in it to find their sustenance in the roots which the land produces. They are ferocious brutes, hard to hunt; they attack the hunter with incredible quickness and courage, [so that] he can only escape on a swift horse. They do not give up unless they are shot either in the head or in the heart. The canyon was named Cañada del Oso.

Ninth: The march was continued through the same canyon, which leads continuously westward, for 2 leagues passing over a hill within sight of the sea near a good stream, not, however, without having overcome the difficulty occasioned by some deep gullies and other bad stretches. The field about the camping place was pleasant and fertile; it had abundant pasture and was not at all scantily forested. Not far away was seen a small

village of Indians who lived without house or hearth. But that which was most worthy of notice was an estuary of immense size, which enters the canyon from the S; at first sight it appears to be a large port. Its mouth, opening to the SW, is covered with reefs, and a short distance N from it is seen a huge rock shaped like a round head, which at high tide becomes an island, separated from the coast. From this rock the coast extends to the WNW as far as a great point which is discerned at some distance, and which, with another which is left behind, forms a large bay, with shelter from the S, SW, and W and may perhaps have sufficient depth.

Tenth: After proceeding for three leagues along the beach, where at every step was encountered running water drained from the range, which here receded somewhat from the sea--one reached another moderately wide canyon; into it penetrates an estuary which receives a stream. This place was given simply the name of El Estero, as no other name to be given it was suggested.

Eleventh: Taking the branch of the canyon that runs to the NNW and following it for 3 leagues, since it turns N at that point, one comes to a better view of the pine-clad range; here occurs a very deep canyon densely wooded with willows, poplars, and other trees; in it ran an ample stream which some claimed was the Rio Carmelo. Because some 60 Indians came down at our arrival to present their compliments, bringing us a bear cub, which they had captured in the camp,

from this incident occasion was taken to name this rivulet the Cañada de Osito.¹

Twelfth: Descending thence to the coast and following the beach, which here bore to the NW, at a distance of a good league of easy road and frequent watering places, one comes to a cliff at the edge of the sea, in the NW part of a canyon through which this stream of very good water empties. There was all the pasture and wood wanted and the place was named El Cantil.

Thirteenth: Without leaving the coast, going over high hills and rolling ground broken by ditches and gullies, opening the way and clearing the ground at every moment, one then passes before a point of land terminating in the sea, and, leaving it to the left, strikes into a gorge here presented in the range, continuing the march NW, across various canyons and gullies. These 2 leagues passed, one comes to a deep water-course where sufficient water was found in a pool. The place was called Arroya da Honda.

Fourteenth: Going part of the way through this canyon, and part along the top of cliffs within view of the sea for another two leagues, one arrives at the foot of a range that is very high, but seems as though it might permit of passage by way of the opening which is seen to the E. This is the range known by the name of Santa Lucia, of which mention is made by the old pilot who first navigated these seas.

¹ French Ed. 1844, de l'Ourson.

V. First: One enters by a canyon which permits ingress into the range, following the stream first on one side and then on the other, as the ground permits. The canyon is very narrow, and contains running water, which in places cuts against the bases of the hills which confine it. At a distance of one league it is divided into 2 branches, one of them flows toward the ENE; and the other to the N. From this point, which was our camping place, there is seen, more to the NE, a hill which is not so beetling as the walls of the canyon.

Second: Ascending this hill, after having cleared the land and opened the road by hand, one continues along the crest of other hills which form the N fork. Descending thence by a long slope we camped within a hollow where lived as many as 60 exceedingly docile and obsequious natives. The entire day's march was perhaps a matter of one league; the camping place was named the Hoya de Santa Lucia.

Third: With great fatigue, overcoming difficulties at every step, ascending and descending very rough slopes and wading through streams, uncertain of our objective point, and hidden in an expanse of mountains which seemed to have no end in any direction, but examining even to the highest peaks, we came, after going 2 leagues, to travel in a very narrow canyon in which little pasture and less water were found. There were in the vicinity three bands of Indians -- wanderers like those of the preceding group, without house or home. they were at this time engaged in harvesting pine nuts, of which there is an abundance throughout the entire range. The camp was called

Real de los Piñones.

Fourth: Thence going 1 league by broken road, but somewhat less rough, certain men being employed daily in exploring the land and the pioneers in the necessary tasks, we pitched camp on the bank of a small river containing much running water, which in its pools or eddies had fish, trout, and some other. For this reason the river was called Rio de las Truchas.

Fifth: From this river we traversed a long range for two days march N and descended into an arroyo having considerable current which flows eastward and then turns northward to join the Rio de las Truchas, as we were given to understand. All the land along this day's march, and especially from this canyon on, is wooded on both sides with white oaks and live oaks of great height and girth. We found on the margin of this stream a village of nomads--very poor.

Sixth: At a distance of little more than a league there is a canyon in stony land covered with many trees of the 2 kinds which we have just mentioned.

Seventh: Traveling through this canyon in a NE direction, one sees that it continues growing narrower little by little, and that the stony white hills which enclose it come almost together at last, leaving, however, a passage not at all difficult, whereby descent is afforded along an inconsiderable slope, to a river which the scouts thought might be the Carmelo. We camped on its bank on this day's journey, having made 3 leagues.

At the foot of the above-mentioned slope we found a populous village of some 200 nomads who lived in the open air without any shelter at all . . . The camp was called Real del Chocolate.¹

Eighth: Now leaving the plain in order to continue over level unwooded ground near the hills which skirt the river on the N, to where the cliffs turn to the NW, we took to the slope of those that lay to the right, proceeding over level ground without going very far from the river. Camp was pitched near some pools, in a spot provided with pasture, which is not everywhere abundant here. Near us we had a beautiful poplar, from which this place took its name. The day's march was four leagues away.

Ninth: The best and most suitable road was by way of the canyon of the river. It opened toward the NW and gradually widened more and more as we followed the current drawing nearer to the coast. A day's march of 4 leagues was again made, the camp being pitched in the plain amid a clump of live oaks. All the land at this place is whitish, wherefore the camp was called the Real Blanco . . .

. . .Mision of San Antonio de los Robles, which was founded in July, 1771, on the bank of a river which was named for the same saint. But after a year and a half, finding that the water of the river was lacking, sinking into the sand, and leaving the stream entirely dry, mission moved half a league farther up, near a good stream named San Miguel.

¹French Ed. 1844, Vega del Chocolate

. . .

Three and one-half leagues beyond the Real Blanco, going over country of the same character as that of the preceding march, although more abundant in pasture we camped at a place near the river, which flows more noisily and proudly. Many antelope seen going by and the camp named Real de los Cazadores . . .

Second: Went downstream toward the NW, another $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, descending continuously and getting away from the hills that form the canyon, which, even at this place in sight of 2 low points which jut out from the hills, must be a matter of 3 leagues across. The land along this day's march is very slippery, and cut by crevices which cross in all directions. Even from this distance one hears the noise of the sea, although the beach is not visible.

Third: Thus we went another league downstream in looking for the beach . . ."

Pedro Fages, Noticia del Puerto de Monterrey; Y Diario Historico de los Viages hechos al Norte de Calif., 1775. Translation by H. L. Priestley of a transcript of a copy discovered by H. E. Bolton in 1910 in Museo Nacional, Mexico in Vol. IV of MS relating to missions of Calif.

Fages entire report was published (in French) in Nouvelles Annales des Voyages et des Sciences Geographiques, 4th Series, 50th yr., Vol. I, Paris 1844. Where spellings in French edition differ from those in original MS, they are given in footnotes.

Note: Priestley's translation will be published later.

J. E. Galindo - 2 campaigns against
Estanislao 1828

TWO CAMPAIGNS AGAINST ESTANISLAO, THE LATTER UNDER SANCHEZ

José Eusebio Galindo, a native Californian, (born in San José 1802, and a soldier of the San Francisco Company 1828-29, in memoranda given to the Bancroft Library) tells of two campaigns against the Indians under the chief Estanislao in 1828, the second under Sanchez.

"I have forgotten to tell of the campaign against the [22]
Indians of the Mission of San José which took place in 1828.

Part of the Indians of the Mission of San José had revolted and gone away to the Valley of the San Joaquin to the river known by the name of Laquisimis. Here they fortified themselves within a forest where they had hidden the horses, other animals, and various things they had stolen. An expedition of San Francisco troops went out against them and returned without having been able to accomplish anything. They had forced an entrance into the forest with the sad result of two dead and two wounded which they had succeeded in getting away. He who had the good fortune to contribute this service was Sergeant José de los Reyes Berreyesa (the one whom those of the Bear Party killed in 1846). He, after the expedition left the forest and noted that four men were lacking, entered again in search of them. He unaided found the two gravely wounded men mentioned above. There were two others also wounded in [23]
this fight. The Indians had stockades, holes in the ground and other defenses, so it was very difficult to

attack them there.

On the return of the expedition to San Francisco another and larger expedition was immediately organized, composed of troops from Monterey and San Francisco, and some Indian auxiliaries and several volunteer citizens also I think. I remember that among them was an old man named Thomas Espinosa.

The troops from Monterey were commanded by Alferez Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and those from San Francisco by Sergeant José Sanchez. Vallejo as an official of higher rank held the higher command, but as he was a novice and Sanchez was an old soldier with much experience in fighting Indians, it was agreed that Sanchez should be the leader. Among the troops from Monterey were men of well-proved valor such as Lieut. José Maria Villa, Trinidad Espinosa, Nicolas Aviso, and others whose names I do not [24] remember.

The expedition set out for the place named where the rebel Indians were entrenched. Sanchez formed the plan of the campaign which was to divide the forces into three sections in order to attack from three different points. The attack was made, and it was necessary to burn the wood because it was so thick, before they could get at the place where the Indians were entrenched. After a battle in which a great number of Indians perished, the others left the trenches and fled to the Sierra

Nevada. Their chief, whose name was Estanislao, fell [24]
into the hands of our troops, and was taken with various
other prisoners to San Francisco or Monterey, I do not
remember which, only being certain that all were pardoned
by the governor and turned over to the Mission, where
Estanislao died years afterward from a natural death.

In the action against the Indians, Don Thomas Espinosa [25]
was mortally wounded and died either at the Mission of
San José or on the way there. Several more of the most
valient men of the troops were wounded, but fortunately
none of them died. . . .

Some of the Christian revoltors returned to the [26]
Mission after the Padre had obtained for them the for-
giveness of the governor."

José Eusebio Galindo, Apuntes para la Historia California
[Memoranda on the History of California], pp. 22-26,
MS, Bancroft Library, 1877.

Translation by S. R. Clemence.

I. Garcia - against Jayuya + ~~Tape~~ 1812

ENCOUNTER AT RANCHERIAS JAYAYA & TAPE , 1812

Inocente Garcia (a soldier in the first Monterey Company and afterwards major at San Juan Bautista Mission) in notes given to the Bancroft Library, tells of a battle that occurred when he with others under José Pico went in 1812 from San Juan Bautista to get some Indian women that the chiefs of the rancherias Jayaya and Tapé had promised the mission.

"I was named to go on a campaign with 5 other men -- [10] Atanasio Menoza, Manuel Butron, José de las Llagas Garcia, Dámaso Soto, and Ramon Martinez -- under the orders of Sergeant José Dolores Pico. We accompanied Padre Arroyo de la Cuesta to the other side of Santa Rita to the rancherias of Jayaya and Tapé (Mission of San Juan Bautista) to look for girl converts that the chiefs of these rancherias had offered.

Padre Arroyo had agreed with Chief Jayaya that we were to take the girls. I already knew a little of their language. Sergeant Pico took 30 armed Indians from the mission to go with us. We set out for Jayaya and Tapé where the Indians were numerous. Chief Tapé had been to Soledad and Padre Arroyo thought that he had returned to his rancheria. The result was that the Indians did not know the arrangements made at the mission, and on our arrival we found them armed and ready to fight us. The [11] Sergeant had commanded our Indian auxiliaries to march

straight for the rancheria. I saw clearly that the [11]
enemy were going to wound us with arrows if we were not
careful and said so to my companions. The guide whom we
took with us said to the Padre that there was no passage
except 1000 varas [2750 feet] farther up. We went
through there to protect the auxiliaries, who were al-
ready fighting. Two of our Indians had already been
killed, but we did not know it, when the auxiliaries
began to run and the enemy after them. I told Dámaso
Soto who was on ahead with me to take off his shield,
for the Indians had been shooting arrows at me, and I
fending them off with mine. Soto on taking off his
shield reversed an arrow with it and started to run to
join the others who were with the Padre. I found myself
alone, and pretended to my adversaries that I was
going to discharge my musket at them, but did no more
than to point it at them, and when they squatted, I
started to retreat, falling back little by little
until I knew that I was at a sufficient distance, when
I wheeled on my horse and ran to join the others. [12]

Here I found that the Padre had spoken to the Indians
in their own language but without avail. The arrows
rained about Padre Arroyo and the soldiers, and one
pierced the leg of my horse. I dismounted and cried
"In the name of the king, everybody shoot". The Padre,
Dámaso Soto, and the Sergeant turned to flee. I, with

my other companions, remained fighting the enemy until [12]
I succeeded in overpowering the chief, who was all adorned
with feathers. This made them stop surrounding us.

The Indians had already taken possession of our reserve
horses, supplies, etc. I then said to Manuel Butron
that as he was the eldest, he should take command and we
would all obey him and go to help our auxiliaries and
take our horses from the enemy. We succeeded in our at- [13]
tempt, rescuing everything and recovering our two dead
auxiliaries and five living ones who were hidden in the
arroyo of Santa Rita where the tule was high."

Inocente Garcia, Hechos Historicos de California
[Historical Events in California], pp. 10-13, MS,
Bancroft Library, 1878.

Translated by S R Clémence

HAWAIIAN
RECORD

I. Garcia - against Indians of
Mariposa + Wopuchinches, 1865

Garcia 2

CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDIANS OF THE MARIPOSAS AND RANCHERIA
OF THE NOPUCHINCHES, 1815

Inocente Garcia (a soldier in the first Monterey Company and afterwards major at San Juan Bautista Mission) in notes given to the Bancroft Library, tells of a campaign in which he took part against the Indians of the Mariposas and the rancheria of the Nopuchinches in 1815.

"When I was working in Las Posas [1815] I was called [105]
for a campaign and had to go. My brother Pedro had just
arrived from San Diego. . . . and they added him to
the expedition, which set out under the command of
Sergeant Soto of the Presidio Company of San Francisco
and consisting of 10 soldiers and citizens, and in addi-
tion 30 Indian auxiliaries with their chiefs -- for the
[??] valley north of San José. We reached the San Joaquin
River at daylight and went on to the Mariposas, where
rafts serving us to cross the river. . . .

We slept in the Mariposas and there they showed me the [106]
bones of the Indians killed by Sergeant Ignacio Vallejo,
who also took his son José Vallejo, who was older than
José de Jesus. A soldier got separated from the sergeant
before entering the rancheria. His name was Isador Soto.
Vallejo fell upon the rancheria, killed 14, and took one

prisoner, whom he took to Monterey.

[106]

Finished with the rancheria, Vallejo went to hunt for the soldier Soto in the rancheria of the Nopuchinches, where we were going. The soldier Hermegildo informed me that the chief of these Indians, who was blind in one eye, had thrust a dart into the breast of Vallejo's horse; he gave the Indian a blow with his lance and would have attacked the rancheria with his little force, had not prudence restrained him, the rancheria being a very populous one. Vasquez told me that on the way back Sergeant Vallejo was so uneasy at not having punished the Indians that he could scarcely sleep.

When we came within a mile of the rancheria of the Nopuchinches, we prepared for combat, but as there was no one there but women, Sergeant Soto commanded Captain Briones with four men -- Calixto Romero, José and Joaquin Castro (sone of Mariano Castro) and I -- to take the women and children and follow with the prisoners on the trail of the force that he had taken to go in search of the men, who were found hunting deer and antelope about 2 leagues away toward the river.. The Sergeant and his men did not delay in attacking the natives and when we arrived with the women and children, the Indians had already surrendered to the number of 100 armed men. The soldier Ventura Zuniga alias Quinto had the muscle of his arm pierced

[107]

by an arrow. The Indian auxiliaries had comported them- [107] selves well and Sergeant Soto ordered them to recover the captured arms and to carry them away. One of the gentiles was wounded and there were several others wounded.

The campaign concluded, we went back to San Juan Bautista and delivered the prisoners (about 300 of both sexes and all ages) to Padre Arroyo, who took charge of making them Christians. These Indians proved to be excellent workers at all tasks."

Inocente Garcia, *Hechos Historicos de California* [Historical Events of California], pp. 105-7, 1878.

Translation by S R Clemence.

Inocenta Garcia - campaign against
Rancheria of Culmich-Tulevel.
1839

CAMPAIGN AGAINST RANCHERIA OF GULMICH , Tulare Lake Region, 1839

Inocente Garcia (a soldier in the first Monterey Company and later major at San Juan Bautista Mission) in notes given to the Bancroft Library, tells of a campaign which he led against Chief Domingo's rancheria of Gulmich apparently in Tulare Lake region.

"About the middle of May, 1839, I received an order from [74 Governor Alvarado to get together all the armed men I could and march the first of June to join Santiago Estrada and Antonio Buelna at the junction of the San Joaquin and Kings rivers. Before the sun went down on that day, I presented [75 myself, well provisioned and ready with 300 men, to Santiago Estrada, who was the leader named. My people were from different rancherias, each one headed by its own chief. There were only 3 white men among them: the mayor-domo of San Antonio with 30 men, Anastasio Albisu (my assistant paid out of my own pocket) and myself. We traveled 3 days through the mountains up river for the north. I asked the Commander what we were going to do because the chiefs of my Indians wanted to know where they were being taken.

Buelna informed me that we were going to attack a rancheria of a chief Domingo. I told him that he ought to have told me sooner, and not to have been so unnecessarily

secretive. I asked permission to speak to my 5 chiefs [75
and to my general, who was called Lisesh in their language,
promising if he would leave it to me and to my Indians to
go alone, I would attack the enemy. Then there would be
no necessity for their going, neither Estrada nor Buelna
with their people. Estrada and Buelna consented, and I [76
went to pass that night with my Indians. I spoke to Lisesh
about the affair, and he, after consulting with his chiefs,
answered that they were ready to attack Domingo's rancheria,
with the understanding that the affair be left to them
and to another rancheria which Angel Maria Castro, brother
of Simon Castro, had brought to the San Juan Mission --
none of the white people except myself, the mayordomo of
San Antonio, whose name was Valenzuela, if I remember
right, and my assistant being allowed to go.

Everything was arranged and we marched the following day,
I putting myself under the orders of Licesh. We arrived
at night near Domingo's rancheria, without being seen or
heard. Licesh made me put myself in the place where we
first observed them with 40 Indians and the two white men.
He told me he was going to have Chief Tachi with 100
men hidden in a large wood to the left of the rancheria
of Gulmich, 50 more men forward near the rancheria ,
Chief Telamini with 50 more in front of Gulmich, and
Licesh himself with the remainder of his people on the
right, having them all in their respective places before

daybreak. He assured me that there was no danger unless [77]
I was near the rancheria when he gave the signal, which
would be as soon as they could see to dodge the arrows.

At the proper time Licesh gave the signal, to which
all responded except Tachi, as the general had arranged.
Those in the rancheria answered with a shout of defiance
and came out to fight, but seeing so many people opposed
to them on all sides and me with my force in the background,
they scattered for the woods, as Licesh had predicted they
would. There they met Licesh and his hundred men ready
with their arrows. Licesh told them to surrender or they
would all be killed. Domingo and his 75 warriors saw there
was no help for it but to put down their arms and surrender.
Not one was killed or wounded. Some of those whom we had
left behind followed us, among them Angel Maria Castro, to
see how our affair had come out, and when they arrived at
our camp they found Domingo and his people captives. . . .

Licesh told me that he would deliver his prisoners [79]
over to me so that I could pass them over to Santiago
Estrada, our commander, telling me that his people were
all returning to the rancherias in order not to make more
expense, and adding that I ought to demand that they shoot
the prisoners because they were a thieving lot whom his
people feared because of their continual robbing, and warn-
ing me that if they were not shot, they would not go out
on another campaign.

I dispatched my Indians to San Miguel and those of San Antonio to their mission. I, by order of Estrada, accompanied him to San Juan, where José Castro was. Before arriving there Estrada made me put myself at the head of the company, and he stayed with the prisoners, taking the men to his ranch and sending the women to Carmel Mission. Estrada arrived with his prisoners at his ranch called Buenavista, where he had his family and an abundance of cultivated ground. [79]

Arrived at the ranch, they threshed the wheat and finished other work and were very active. Domingo begged to get back the women of his rancheria who had been sent to Carmel. He sent four men to Carmel to tell the women to fly from there in the night and to travel all night toward Buenavista. The women came and Domingo and all his people escaped from Buenavista, taking all the herds of horses and cattle which belonged to Santiago Estrada, cleaning out the ranch of animals. They may have robbed another too, as they passed through the country. They killed a brother of Chief Tachi and two Christians from San Miguel, who were at the rancheria of Tachi and whom they found there, as a revenge for having helped imprison them. Domingo lost none of his people in the combat because they were brave and cunning." [80]

Inocente Garcia, Hechos Historicos de California [Historical Events in California], pp. 74-80, MS, Bancroft Library, 1878.

Translation by S R Clemence

U. P. Gomez - San Juan Bautista mission
Indian Funerals - 1836

INDIAN FUNERALS, AT SAN JUAN BAUTISTA MISSION, 1836

Vincente P. Gomez(who came to California as clerk for General Micheltorena) in a book of recollections written for the Bancroft Library, gives the following account entitled

"Funerals of Indians in 1836, Mission of San Juan Bautista" [66]

"When an Indian was about to die, and when all human help was considered of no avail in his agony, his wife, if he was married -- or his nearest relative -- with tears in her eyes approached the dying one and seating herself on his stomach hastened his death and so spared him greater suffering.

After some moments when they considered that the soul of the dying one had left his body, they took his blanket and wrapped him completely up in it, tying it round the body with a rope or something else.

Everything belonging to the deceased, such as bows, arrows, clothing etc. with the exception of beads, if he had any, they put into the fire until they were reduced to ashes. Then all the mourners covered the tops of their heads with the ashes and kept them there until they fell off of themselves.

The beads of the deceased and of all the mourners were collected and with these they payed the Indian men and women, whom they kept weeping before the corpse until

it was buried.

The body was carried to the cemetery on hand-barrows [67] belonging to the Mission and painted black. The mourners, weepers, and friends followed the body until they came to the foot of the grave. There it was deposited and all the mourners threw themselves down on the grave, remaining prostrate until the grave was covered with earth. During this act, the mourners and weepers uttered their lamentations in monotonous manner, suitable to the sorrow they expressed.

Afterward they all returned to their respective huts to proceed with their own affairs.

After the corpse had been buried a week a dance was consecrated to his memory as a manifestation of grief. It began at sunset and lasted until sunrise of the following day. This took place in an open field without flooring or covering of any kind. Two or three Indians were the musicians. Their instruments consisted of two sticks about a foot long, joined at one end, but so that they could make some noise as they hit each other. They took this instrument in one hand and struck it against a stone, thus making a double sound: that of one stick [68] against the other, and that of the two sticks striking against the stone. All these sounds were in unison and they accompanied them singing 'callagu, qiiiina qui, lé lé lé, shi quitojo le ju injo, há há há.'

The Indian women, forming on one side and facing the musicians, who occupied the center seated round a huge fire, took two steps to the right and two to the left. The Indian men forming on the other side at right angles to the women, lifted their hands and feet alternately, making contortions and horrible gestures. They made all these movements in time with the music.

Some of the Indian men and women painted their faces and bodies with brilliant colors, although very often with black -- smoke or soot -- and sometimes the former would wear caquetos filled with turkey buzzard or condor feathers.

While the Indians were thinking of everything except the deceased for whom the fete was given, there entered on their enthusiastic enjoyment another diversion. One or two Indians wandered into the vicinity, completely covered with the beautiful black feathers of the turkey buzzard, their heads covered with a tuft of feathers of the same bird, and making a doleful whistle with a reed pipe, which in the midst of the silence of the night could be heard from a long distance.

The Indian thus clothed they called Cucusuy, meaning 'devil', and it was his duty to walk round the place of the dance keeping at a distance of 200 or more varas [550 feet]. He goes in the most difficult and darkest spots, whistling from time to time with his pipe, as

if to recall to them that they were enjoying the fete [69]
of the deceased and that in their vicinity there wandered
a soul in torment.

Suddenly when the Cucusuy thought that the dancers
had forgotten him, that no one was noticing him, he
appeared before them. On seeing him they made a deafening
noise and mingled some figures in their dance that were
intended to show their fear. Then the devil danced
with each of them in turn, and went back again to wander
in the mountain or plain, returning later to give them
another surprise.

In this fashion they passed the night until the dance
was finished, which was usually at dawn."

Vincente P. Gomez, Lo que Sabe Sobre Cosas de California
[What I know about California Affairs], pp. 66-69,
MS, Bancroft Library, 1876.

Translation by S. R. Clemence.

William R. Grimshaw, who came to the ^{lower} Sacramento Valley in 1848 and lived there for many years, tells of the effect which the gold-hunters had upon the Indians at the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, (in notes given to the Bancroft Library).

"Before the discovery of the mines the foothills (44)
of the Sierra Nevada were thickly populated with various tribes of Digger Indians, the most harmless inoffensive beings that ever existed on the face of the earth. In the summer months these Indians would come to the different ranchos (by this word I mean farms of from 3 to 11 leagues of land in extent, and not in its present signification, a board shanty on a 10-acre lot) and work for the proprietors in harvesting their crops of wheat. By this means the rancheros near the foothills (45)
became well acquainted with all the chiefs and most of the members of these tribes. An Indian was glad to work in the harvest field with a sickle, for as much ^{well} beef as he could eat, and a yard of cotton cloth for a week's wages.

When the great discovery took place, P. R. Reading, John Bidwell, Nye, Foster, Covilland, Sinclair, Daylor, Sheldon, McCoon, the Murphys, and some others hastened to the foothills with droves of cattle, and,

in course of time, flour, hardbread, sugar, raisins, (45)
beads, dry-goods and clothing; spiritous liquors being
of common consent rigidly taboo. The Indians, who up
to this time had subsisted on acorns, grass-hoppers,
grass-seeds, and sometimes fish and a few wild fowl;
the males and children going entirely naked the year
round; worked with great energy to acquire the hereto-
fore unheard of luxuries supplied by the traders. At
first there was no weighing or measuring either of goods
or gold; so much beef or flour for as much gold as
could be grasped in the hand. As scales were introduced,
raisins, beads or silver dollars were put in one scale
and balanced by gold in the other. Few persons now liv-
ing have any idea of the enormous quantity of gold that
was taken out in the summer of 1848 before the advent
of white strangers. [In the 'dry diggings', where no (46)
water was required, the gold being found on and near the
surface, the ground was worked over with knives, spoons,
pieces of iron and pointed sticks. On the 'bars' and
other places where dirt had to be washed, the Indians
used baskets made by the squaws which were perfectly
watertight. . . As newcomers made their appearance and
competition in trade commenced, the Indians were pretty
well supplied with liquor by the newly established white
traders and of course became greatly demoralized. Their

early protectors, the rancheros, left the mines in disgust; (46) the poor aborigines were abandoned to the mercy of a number of semi-barbarous^{white} men; and died and were killed off with frightful rapidity. The first to commit outrages upon them were emigrants from Oregon; who, with the massacre of the Whitman family by the Indians of that territory, fresh in their minds, fully carried out the proposition that Indians had no rights whatever as human beings. For accounts of some of the outrages committed upon them I refer to early numbers of the "Placer Times" and to an article written by Ross Brown in Harpers Magazine for Aug. 1861. Instances were by no means rare when an Indian working a piece of ground, and hesitating about giving it up at the (47) command of some white ruffian, being ruthlessly shot down and his body tossed aside to be burned or buried by members of his tribe.

The trade of my partner and myself was mostly confined to those Indians who lived in rancherias or villages on the Daylor or Sheldon ranch. These Indians would make excursions to the mines in bands. In a few weeks they would return, having been more or less successful in mining, but always bringing back more or less gold. On their return the first call was invariably for beef. A bull or torum (stag) was driven up to the village, killed and handed over to the purchasers, who consumed every particle of the

animal except hide, horns, and bones. They would (47)
eat to repletion, lie down to sleep and on waking up,
again surfeit themselves. This would continue until
the meat and all the insides were eaten and the bones
picked clean. They would then visit the store accom-
panied by the squaws and purchase zarapes (Mexican
blankets), drygoods, beads, sugar, raisins, and sweet-
meats. If, during their stay in the rancheria, some
distinguished member of the tribe died, which frequently
happened, the corpse was placed upon a funeral pyre and
into the fire went all the previous purchases of the
tribe as well as all property owned by the deceased down
to his dogs, and yells of these latter joined to the
howling of the Indians making a fearful noise. . . .

In trading with Indians it was considered legitimate (48)
(even at the stores at the fort) to have 2 sets of weights.
The Indian ounce weight was equal to two ounces standard
and so on up."

Grimshaw, William R., Narrative of Life & Events in Calif.,
MS, Bancroft Library, pp. 44-48, 1872.

ENCOUNTER WITH INDIANS ON SACRAMENTO RIVER,
NEAR CERRITOS CUATES (TWIN BUTTES)

José Canuto Borondo (a native Californian and soldier serving in the early Monterey and San Francisco companies) in Recollections given to the Bancroft Library, tells of an encounter with Indians at Cerritos Cuates on the Sacramento River, during Arguello's expedition which set out for the Columbia River. He writes:

"I went on the expedition that set out for the Colum- [18]
bia (I think in 1821) under the command of Capt. Arguello. I understood that the Governor had been informed that on the Rio de Jesus Maria in the place called Cerritos Cuates, a town was being formed by foreigners coming from the Columbia. This was a falsehood; the people were only hunting beavers.

We set out, some 40 men afoot and on horseback with a few cannon -- not counting Indian servants and beasts of burden. We crossed the Strait of Carquinez in barges and [19]
marched toward the North. We crossed by the Suisun ran-
cheria and took the whole range by the side of Rio Jesus Maria up to near these Cerritos Cuates. At the Rio de Jesus a great number of Indians armed for war set out to meet us.

We prepared ourselves for the conflict, although our Commander ordered us not to begin the fray. The Indians began to discharge arrows at us. The interpreter called to

them to stop, that we had not come there to make war [19]
upon them. But it was of no avail and they kept on dis-
charging arrows. At length the Commander had to order
us to retaliate. He ordered us to get the artillery
ready, that we carried on a mule, and to charge it with
grape-shot. This was promptly done and at the first
shot made with it, the Indians fled, some to the ravine.
One was left outside, and his companions could not pick
him up because they had all started to run. The Indian
was not killed and Padre Blas(who I think was then [20]
minister at San Francisco and came at the head of our
expedition) asked him by means of an interpreter if he
wanted to become a Christian. He assented, was baptized
immediately, and died.

I think that this expedition had two foreigners
as guides, one of them an Englishman named Gilroy, the
same for whom the town of Gilroy was named.

The night of this combat, the Indians were passing
the river and sent arrows into our camp, until we re-
turned fire, then they withdrew. This day we marched by
the mountain as far as Ross."

Don José Canuto Borondo, Notas Historicas sobre Calif.
[Historical Notes on Calif.] 18-20, MS, Bancroft
Library, 1878.

Translated by S.R.Clemence.

Ordaz, Diario de la Expedicion de Don Luis Argüello al Norte, 1821, MS. Names of rancherias passed, starting from the strait [of Carquines] and going up the valley of the Sacramento, are as follows:

Pozo de San Blas, near Suisun. Ranch. of the Ululatos, near that of the Gualactos; ranch. of the Libaytos, 400 inhab., on a river 'bastante considerable' called Rio de San Pedro. Ehita on a river, near an oak grove, 900 inhab.; Goroy, 1000 inhab., on Rio Jesus Maria [Sacramento], near a hill and alameda, or grove; the rancheria was protected by a stockade; Guiritoy, or Guitistoy, 1600 inhab., on same river, near an alameda of large oaks stretching 10 leagues; Capá (Capay, opposite Chico?); Coriú; Cha, 1500 inhab.; Teroti; Hutulrabe; Ducdac; Pachi; Sunus; Chenó; Llali. 447

--Bancroft, Hist. Calif., II, 446-447, 1885 (ft. note).

Latitude of Shasta or Weaverville probably northern limit of expedition; marched S over the mountains⁽⁴⁴³⁾ now bounding Trinity Co. on the east⁽⁴⁴⁷⁾, for nine days⁽⁴⁴⁸⁾; names recorded in diary are as follows:

Rio Todos Santos; Tuyaja, on river said by the Indians to be the same; Lonita; Gapetely; Poquetoe; Benenuc. Fertile valleys of Sta Catalina and Carmen; Mt Maltrato; Arroyo de Salsipuedes; and ranch--Chugelempa; Arroyo de los Peligros; Caguitlomé; Satuntutillami; Gualactole; Guiaguillomi; Oleyomi; Catalillomi; Chiyasayacume; Espinazo del Diablo; Magma; Valley of Buena Esperanza; Arroyo de S. Ignacio 448

See note A, slips 2 and 3.

Ordaz - 2

(this according to Payeras, Noticias sobre Ross, MS, 417 — see also chap.xx[✓] this volume — was the Russian River about

✓. "Down this valley of Libantiliyami, which could hardly have been any other than that of the Russian River. . ."—449.

13 leagues above its mouth, or perhaps not far above Cloverdale); Valley of Libantiliyami.

--Ibid 448 ft.note.

Names on last part of journey, from [probably] sites of modern Healdsburg and Santa Rosa to San Rafael, ^(449 apt) as follows:

Sierra de Buen Retiro, the range which they had left running parallel with their route down the valley; rancheria of Libantiliyami; spring of San Jorge, and Alompali (Olompali).

—Ibid 449 ft.note.

Note A.

A. "Another clue to the locality may be found in the fact that on starting south, they followed a river along the foot of the range for a whole day, and at the end of the second day, after passing between two steep ranges still southward, encamped on a river supposed to be the same. They named the stream Todos Santos. Amador says it was the Trinity, which indeed seems to be the only stream in this region on which they could have travelled so long to the south. Yet the diary does not indicate that they crossed the main Shasta range to reach the

river, nor do subsequent events seem to point to the Trinity."

(In citing references Bancroft says "Ibid 448 ft.note. some of the writers admit that Arguello did not go farther probably than the Willamette."

(cont'd).

Ordaz - 3

"Dr. Marsh, however, Letter to Com. Jones, 1842, MS, p.2, mentions the affair and says: 'I have ascertained that this famous expedition, which was out about 4 months, did not go beyond the valley of the Sacramento, a distance of not more than 200 miles from San Francisco.' "--Ibid 446, ft.note.

Nov. 6. continued So.
noon had precipitous mt.
near mch rcha Caguillome
+ later Satuntutillami &
Gualactels (for night)

N. 7: Guaiguillome (as if same
as night before (given yesterday
as Gualactels) to Oleyomi &
to Catalillomi + on to
Chiyasayacame (night).

Nov 8: fort Magma to
avroza ul mound San Yacasia.

Nov 9 - found Libantiliyami
from Summit San Russian
Presidio

Nov 10. followed to val Libantiliyami
in mch rcha same name.

Nov. 11. 6 P and Olompali 6 leagues
from San Raf.

Oct 30.

Cheno, blali at floor of Lurra
madre, where told can be seen
2 mts (twin).

Oct 31 - turned west all day
to rcha -

Nov. 1. turned south following
base of Lurra by bank of
river adjacent to rcha.
camped on same at San rcha
Rio Todos Santos

Nov 2: So hit 2 rugged Lurres
to Tuyaja on bank of river.
believed to be Todos Santos

Nov 3 - over mts to Benemec
hamp found Lenita, Capetly,
+ Poquetar

N 4: fort 2 mts (ridge?) + 2
valleys in 2d of mch rcha
Chugelempa

N 5 marched South following river
mt' to Chugelempa on bank
of avroza

INDIAN CAMPAIGN SAN FRANCISCO TO "COLUMBIA RIVER"

Juan Bojorges (a native Californian, born 1806, who served as soldier for many years in the San Francisco Company) in Recollections dictated for the Bancroft Library, tells of Luis Arguello's campaign up the Sacramento in 1824 [1821] which starts from San Francisco for the Columbia River, and of differences in the rancherías on the way.

At the age of 18 [in 1824] I served in the company [1] at the Presidio [San Francisco] under the orders of the Comandante of the Presidio, Don Luis Arguello. I was not with this commander on the expedition which he made at this time to Sonoma, because only the old soldiers went, who were already experienced in former campaigns in conquest of the barbarous Indians who populated that part of the country with numerous tribes. But as I remember, the expedition was made up of a hundred men, more or less, under the command of the aforesaid Capt. Arguello, a Padre whose name I do not recall, ^[Altamira] and an English interpreter named John Gilroy. The soldiers were all in leather jackets, and went well-provided with arms and ammunition, carrying a swivel-gun loaded on a mule. The intention of the expedition when it set out from San Francisco, as I have heard, was to go as far as Columbia, and for this reason, Gilroy, the interpreter referred to, went as a guide, but on the road, 3 days before reaching Columbia, they were detained by the inconvenience of not finding water for the troop or for the horses; and on finding it, they could not restrain their beasts in their desperation of thirst, which hurled

themselves into the river (many of them being drowned). [2]
Among them there was a mule on which the ammunition was
loaded, which escaped when the weight of the little cannon
was lifted, because they lassoed him in time. In view of [3]
this misfortune and knowing that the road they were to
travel was peopled by the numerous fierce tribes they
had come to fight, they resolved to return to the
Presidio, having been out two months on the expedition.

On the way going and coming they had various en-
counters with the savages who from rancheria to rancheria
spoke different dialects, these Indians being all enemies
of one another and using different arms, there being ran-
cherias that fought with arrows, slings, and macanas.¹²
With the slings they would hurl balls about the size of an
orange, made of clay pierced and kneaded with the skins of
animals, and if they hit man or beast, they surely cause
death.

Bojorges, Juan, Recuerdos sobre la Historia Calif. pp. 1-2, 1877.
[Recollections about California History] MS, Bancroft Library,

(Translated by S. R. Clemence, April 1917.)

¹² A wooden weapon in use among the ancient Indians of Mexico
and Peru, generally edged with a sharp flint.

Jacob Buegot - Lower Calif. Indians

published in 1839

Alexander Forbes in his book on California, (said to be the first book written in English concerning the Californias) says that the library of Don Manuel Najera of Guadalajara, Mexico, contains many rare and valuable books and manuscripts on Mexican History. Among them is a manuscript professing to be the journal of Father Francisco Atanacio Dominguez, and Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante, kept during a journey performed by them in 1776, from Santa Fe towards Monterey. Forbes writes:

"Those friars....were by their own account at one time 158
as far as 41° N. But after they had arrived as far as what they
considered to be 136 leagues in a direct line west of Santa
Fé, and reckoning themselves yet a great distance from Monterey, 159
they determined to give up the enterprise and return.

From the accounts given by these missionaries, it appears
that the borders of the Rivers Gila and Colorado were thickly
peopled by Indians in a very low state of civilization. They,
however, cultivated some ~~maze~~ ^{cattle} and even wheat, and they had also
~~cattle~~. The travellers did not encounter the slightest hostility
from any of the tribes through which they passed; on the con-
trary, they were received with kindness and presented with a
part of such food as they possessed. On leaving the vicinity of
the Rio Colorado and proceeding westerly, they found the natives
fewer in numbers and less civilized, the greater part being
entirely naked and living on roots and seeds of trees."

Forbes, Alexander. History of Upper and Lower California, 158-9,
London, 1839

Viader, Diario ó Noticia del Viage que acabo de hacer por
mandato del Sr Gobernador y Padre Presidente, con el objeto
de buscar parages ó Sitios para fundar Misiones, Agosto 1810,

MS. August 15th, left Mission San José and went six leagues N to a spring in San José Valley. 16th, 6 l.N to source of Nogales Cr.; 6 l.N to mouth of same stream in sloughs extending NE. 17th, explorations of the plains about the mouths of the great rivers in the lands of the Tarquines (Carquines?), no facilities for a mission for lack of water. 18th, 7 l.E over range of mountains to the Rio de San Joaquin, or as it is also called Rio de los Tulares, in the land of the Tulpunes; 2 l.E. 19th, 10 l.SE along edge of the tules to a lagoon in an oak grove, at or near the rancheria of Pescadero in the country of the Cholbones. 20th, 3 l.SE past Aupimis to opposite Tomchom; 2.5 l.to Cuyens. 21st, 3 l. past a dry creek, to Maijem; 2 l.to Bozenats. 22d, 3 l.SE to Tationes and Apaglamenes; 3 l.to some lagoons (all these rancherias were on the other side of the river, and the travelers simply arrived opposite them. Most of the names were those of the chiefs). 23d, 4 l.to a lagoon. 24th, turned west and in 10 l.reached San Luis Gonzaga. 25th, explorations, 26th, SW over the mountains, 9 l.to Ausaymas Cr. 27th, 5 l. SW to San Juan Bautista.--Verbatim footnote in Bancroft, Hist.Calif., II, 56, ~~18~~ 1885.

[See also notes from diary of expedition in October 1810.]

SANTA BARBARA TO SAN EMIGDIO IN PLAIN OF TULARES.

Portilla, Diario de una Expedicion al Tular, 1824, MS.

Marched June 2 from Santa Barbara . . "To S. Buenaventura, where he remained until June 5th. Up the Sta Clara River 15 leagues to Camulos rancho, where the S. Fernando sheep were kept. Up the river 3 l. to S. Javier rancho; NE, over a summit named by Sarria S. Norberto, to the spot named Espiritu Santo from the day, 5 l. Over the hills, past an arroyo called Tinoco to Álamos, 8 l.; over the plain, past the Salinas de Cortés, into the Cañada de Uvas, to Sta Teresa de Jesus, a fine site, 6 l. Three leagues more through the Cajon to the plain, whence the Lake Misjamin ^[= Kern Lake] was seen 6 l. toward the N. over the plain, leaving the lake to the right, to S. Emigdio, which was 9 l. from the mouth of the Cajon de Uvas and 5 or 6 l. from the lake. The camp of the rebels was at Mitocha. The rancheria of Tulali is mentioned on or near the lake. The return was by Malapica; Camup, Cuyam, Casitec named S. Pablo; Seguaya, or S. Gervasio Creek; down the creek to Sta Inés River, down the river 3 l. to Ciénegas rancho or Trinidad; to S. Roque and half a league to Sta Barbara Mission." ^[June 21]

--Bancroft, Hist. Calif., II, 535 ft. note, 1885.

ENCOUNTER WITH INDIANS ON SACRAMENTO RIVER,

NEAR CERRITOS CUATES (TWIN BUTTES)

José Canuto Borondo (a native Californian and soldier serving in the early Monterey and San Francisco companies) in Recollections given to the Bancroft Library, tells of an encounter with Indians at Cerritos Cuates on the Sacramento River, during Arguello's expedition which set out for the Columbia River. He writes:

"I went on the expedition that set out for the Colum- [18]
bia (I think in 1821) under the command of Capt. Arguello. I understood that the Governor had been informed that on the Rio de Jesus Maria in the place called Cerritos Cuates, a town was being formed by foreigners coming from the Columbia. This was a falsehood; the people were only hunting beavers.

We set out, some 40 men afoot and on horseback with a few cannon -- not counting Indian servants and beasts of burden. We crossed the Strait of Carquinez in barges and [19]
marched toward the North. We crossed by the Suisun rancheria and took the whole range by the side of Rio Jesus Maria up to near these Cerritos Cuates. At the Rio de Jesus a great number of Indians armed for war set out to meet us.

We prepared ourselves for the conflict, although our Commander ordered us not to begin the fray. The Indians began to discharge arrows at us. The interpreter called to

them to stop, that we had not come there to make war [19]
upon them. But it was of no avail and they kept on dis-
charging arrows. At length the Commander had to order
us to retaliate. He ordered us to get the artillery
ready, that we carried on a mule, and to charge it with
grape-shot. This was promptly done and at the first
shot made with it, the Indians fled, some to the ravine.
One was left outside, and his companions could not pick
him up because they had all started to run. The Indian
was not killed and Padre Blas(who I think was then [20]
minister at San Francisco and came at the head of our
expedition) asked him by means of an interpreter if he
wanted to become a Christian. He assented, was baptized
immediately, and died.

I think that this expedition had two foreigners
as guides, one of them an Englishman named Gilroy, the
same for whom the town of Gilroy was named.

The night of this combat, the Indians were passing
the river and sent arrows into our camp, until we re-
turned fire, then they withdrew. This day we marched by
the mountain as far as Ross."

Don José Canuto Borondo, Notas Historicas sobre Calif.
[Historical Notes on Calif.] 18-20, MS, Bancroft
Library, 1878.

Translated by S.R.Clemence.

Heinrich Weinhard - 1898

American
Feather $\frac{1}{2}$.

INDIANS OF AMERICAN & FEATHER RIVERS, CALIF.

Heinrich Lienhard came to America in 1844, and in April 1846 started overland to California, where he remained until July 1850. From 1847-8 he was employed by Sutter as overseer of his truck farm at Minal, about 2 miles from Hock Farm on Feather River, and of the building of his flour mill on American River and of the saw mill where gold was discovered. After this Lienhard went to the mines. Lienhard kept a journal and in 1870 wrote out very fully his experiences in America, an abstract of which was published in Zurich in 1898. In this Lienhard's observations on the Indians of American and Feather rivers are given as follows:

When Sutter first settled in Sacramento Valley, Lienhard [124] writes " the Government furnished him with food supplies, as well as with trinkets, articles of clothing, etc. for the Indians, in order to tempt them to settle down in the colony The Sacramento Indians were the first to approach the [125] colony, but they merely surveyed the new arrivals from a respectful distance, refusing to understand the signs of invitation. In order to gain the confidence of the Indians, all sorts of gaily colored trifles were spread out and signs made that these costly splendors were meant for them. In this way a few were enticed into the camp where they were shown nothing but kindness and the next night a great ^{or} number appeared. After sufficient confidence had been gained, it was easy to put a price on the gifts and to exchange them for work. and so accustom the Indians to work.

"The Sacramento-Indians, who lived on the site of the present [125]
city of Sacramento, and the Busheny-Indians, who inhabited the
region at the junction of the Sacramento and the American Fork,
on the right shore of the latter river, were said to be deadly
enemies and had always lived in feud with each other. Only the
river offered both tribes some protection from their mutual
attacks. Their languages also were very different. This
ermity may have been the reason that for a whole year no Busheny
Indians came to the settlement -- partly from fear of their new
neighbor and partly for antipathy for the other Indians whom they
might meet in the settlement."

In the spring of 1847 Lienhard went to take charge of a truck
farm at a place called Minal on Feather River, 2 miles above "Haek-
farm". He started from Sutter's tannery on the American Fork,
taking with him some Indians whom Sutter had working for him
at that place. They took plentiful supplies, the Indians in
particular taking great bales of smoked fish eggs and smoked
ducks. Lienhard writes:

"We put off from the shore and soon reached the small Bushny [156]
village, where the Indians wanted to remain overnight . . .

It was not until late the next morning that it pleased the lazy
Bushunes to return and we proceeded on the way to Haek farm . . . [157]

A short distance above the mouth of the American Fork [before
reaching the farm of Nicolaus Algier] is the site of a place where
formerly numerous Indians lived, but who were wiped out by an

✓ Site of present town of Nicolaus

epidemic. . . .

"The spring of 1847 was mild and favorable . . . soon after [162]
my arrival in Minal the Indians began to come every day in great
numbers to our house from the neighboring communities of Sidume,
Yuba, [and Minal]. We employed some of them in helping us dig a [163]
trench round the garden, and they proved quite good workers.

"On Sundays there were always a number of these bronze com-
plexioned gentlemen about the house, lured partly from curiosity
and partly from the desire to exchange ^{for} some old, worn-out piece
of clothing, the skin of a small fox or wild cat filled with
excellent arrows and a bow. These arrows were all provided with
flint tips"

"The Indians of California, at least those of the region of the
Sacramento and Feather rivers, are usually of a fine build, and
many of them are slender and well-proportioned. Their mouths are
broad and full-lipped, and their hair is coarse and black, fre-
quently falling in locks. The men usually wear a very black moustache
and goatee, which appears to grow this way naturally. The arm
muscles are rarely much developed, probably owing to the fact
that these men perform very little heavy work. Their toes point
inwards, as is the case with all Indians, while those of the white
race turn more outward. They let their wives perform the hardest
tasks; the latter have to prepare the acorn flour, which they do
by pounding the acorns with heavy stones. They also gather the

roots and grass, and carry the loads in large, usually water- [163]
proof, funnel-shaped baskets, which they carry on their backs
by means of a strap passed over the head. Meanwhile their lords
and masters stride on ahead, majestic and proud, carrying nothing
but their bow and arrows. The men do the fishing and make [164]
good catches, particularly at the season when many thousand
salmon come up the river to spawn. At such times the fish is
easily caught in great numbers, and is smoked and preserved for
a long time. The roe is dried in the same way and smoked and
preserved as a delicacy. The Indians also hunt birds -- ducks,
geese and other water fowl . . .

"In every village may be seen stuffed birds, as ornaments,
and these are sometimes used as decoys to catch the many thou-
sand migratory birds that pass by in the autumn and spring.
The Indians hide among the bushes surrounding the sloughs in
this marshy region. They construct rafts of rushes and reeds,
which they cover with dried grass, and this in turn is covered
with earth, thus constituting small, floating islands, which
they strew with seed to tempt the ducks and geese. They also
place on these islands a few of the stuffed ducks and geese
in natural positions, and toward the background they attach a
bow of the same length and width as the artificial island, to
which is attached a net. When this bow is open, it is approx-
imately at right angles to the surface of the ground; a rope
is attached to the top of it, which is held by the Indian

hidden in the bushes.

[164]

"When the swarms of ducks and geese come flying in the direction of the island, as happens continually, the Indian exactly imitates the notes of these birds, and the sound attracts the hungry migrants to the repast prepared for them. At the psychological moment, the hidden man, with a strong pull, draws down the bow over the chattering birds. They cannot escape and are taken out one by one [165] and killed. If the catch is so great that the birds are not eaten, the remainder are smoked and preserved. The Indians use the feathers to make large warm covers, which they use in the cold damp weather. While I was with them, these covers appeared to constitute the only article of clothing of both men and women, for besides these the latter wore only a number of fringes round their waists, about 1-1/2 feet in length, one end of which hung down in front and the other behind, leaving the loins almost uncovered.

"The women knit nets which are used for catching small fish and small birds. Woodpeckers, of which there are many in California, are caught with the help of torches. These are thrust in front of the nests in the trees, thus awakening and frightening the birds which, in trying to escape, are caught in a net held by the Indian in front of the opening. Hares are also hunted with a long net. The places where they are suspected of hiding are enclosed in a net, the bushes are beaten and the escaping hares then shot.

The device used by the Indians to hunt grasshoppers in the summer is very ingenious. A number of funnel-shaped holes are dug in the ground, from 3 to 4 feet in diameter at the top and narrowing down to 1-1/2 feet, after which they are prolonged another foot in width and depth in a vertical direction. The sides of the hole are carefully smoothed over at the top, so that the insects cannot obtain a foothold. When these holes are ready, each Indian takes a green branch and slowly walks around a hole in a large circle, at the same time driving or partly sweeping the insects in the direction of the hole. The closer they get to the holes, the more desperate are the antics of the insects, and finally nothing remains but for them to leap at random, with the result that they fall into the ditch whence they cannot again escape. They are then lifted out in handfuls by the hunters and thrown into a basket, while some one keeps them covered with a broad leaf in order to prevent their escaping. As soon as the ditches have been emptied the baskets are brought to the camp or home to the village, where the insects are killed with hot ashes or roasted one by one by spearing them on a small stick and holding them over the glowing embers. . . . "

In June Lienhard went to Sutters Fort for a few days and writes that on his return he found "some young Sisum-Indians" had been taking liberties with the man left in charge of the farm.

"We slaughtered a small ox, in order to keep ourselves supplied with food, and the meat was cut into long, thin strips for preservation, the Minal-Indians helping us with the work . . . [167]
I decided I would profit by the presence of the chief of the Minal-Indians and two of his men, to ask them to help us carry an oak stump to the fire, which request I indicated by means of signs. At first they pretended not to understand, but when I finally succeeded in conveying my request, they showed considerable opposition. They said, 'Na hänni dennin', which means 'The piece is too heavy', and declined to help . . . [168]

"Once an Indian showed me a field mouse about half the size of a rat, with large cheek pouches and a short tail. The Indians bound the animal by the hind legs to a long thin rope and allowed it to run loose in a sod-covered space, retaining their hold of the rope. This so enraged the little creature that it made a dash for the feet of one of the Indians and began to scream aloud in excitement and rage . . . " [170]

"As I have before mentioned, there were three Indian settlements in my neighborhood -- Sisum, Yuba, and Minal, and the inhabitants of the first two were more thievish than those from Minal . . . [173]
My friend Seie, whose brother was the chief, had often told me that the Sisums and Yubas were the chief thieves . . . [174]

"This summer [1847] was a disastrous one for the Indians living on Feather River, for many of them, especially the women and children, succumbed to a prevailing epidemic. I subsequently

heard that some villages had lost nearly all their women and children. For a long time I could hear the sounds of mourning and death lamentation from a place about 400 feet distant from my house, and sometimes we saw men and women who were painted completely black, which made them look horribly. I believe that this heavy mortality was the result of wrong treatment, for I myself once saw a sick child in high fever repeatedly submerged in the icy water of the Yuba, in order to reduce its temperature. I heard that the child died soon after . . . [177]

"The Indians have two types of houses -- summer and winter dwellings. The latter resemble enormous molehills. They are dug out 3 feet below the level of the ground and several strong posts are put up in the middle, which constitute the chief supports of the structure upon which rests the ridge of the roof. In a diameter of from 12 to 20 feet, according to the desired size of the house, strong flexible poles are fastened or stuck into the ground and split in the middle in such a way that the inner piece leans against the middle post, to which it can easily be attached by means of creepers. When this framework of the roof, which resembles that of an umbrella is finished, over the whole circumference of the roof, thinner and more pliable poles are interwoven with these poles which serve as ribs, and are bound together until the roof forms a kind of network. This is covered with a layer of well-prepared clay, which is carefully stamped, beaten, tread, and smoothed over all the woven material on both inside and outside of roof and walls. Sometimes a hole [178]

for smoke or air is left open at the top, and in front above [178]
ground there is an entrance, consisting of a hole from 2 to 3
feet in diameter and height -- and the palace is ready.

"The house furnishings consist of a number of different kinds
of baskets, some of which are water-proof and are used to carry
water. I often marveled at this basket work, which was also
used for ornamentation, and is indeed a veritable work of art.

"The hearth is in the middle of the dwelling and consists of
a hole in the ground or a small pile of stones. A few couches or
beds are put against the walls and covered with mattresses of
rushes or reeds.

"The summer houses are usually constructed of rushes and rush
mats laid down in layers over a framework, like those used for
winter houses, but lighter because no weight comes upon them,
as does in the winter houses. These summer houses are placed
above ground, that is on a level with the surface. From the
outside they resemble hay or straw stacks.

"There are often a number of smaller huts around the chief [179]
one, similar in construction. These are used to preserve stores
such as grains, acorns, roots, etc.

"The acorn, the fruit of the oak tree, is the Indian's chief
bread supply, as wheat is that of the white man. These acorns
vary greatly in form and taste, according to the species. The
Indians prepare a kind of soup with the acorn flour, as well as
various kinds of cakes baked on stones. The latter, however,

do not taste very good, especially as they often contain [179]
a considerable admixture of sand. As above stated, they also
eat meat of various kinds, and fish and grasshoppers. Their
vegetable food consists of herbs, roots, and grass seeds. The
root of the Eschholzia California is greatly prized, and
resembles our potato. It is roasted by being placed on the
leaves of weeds, which are laid on hot stones and covered with
earth. The Indians are also familiar with garlic and bulbs
resembling onions . . .

"Although California might at that time have been called a
Paradise for hunters, the Indians were seldom good shots.
There was no lack of game of all kinds . . .

"I could only account for the Indians' indifference to the [180]
hunt by the fact that they so easily obtain an ample supply of
fish and fowl; for they did not despise the flesh of the stag,
deer, elk, antelope, or bear; on the contrary, they devoured
it in extraordinary quantities whenever it was offered to them.

"As the Feather River Indians had lost so many of their
women through death, they had to think of ways and means for
replacing this loss. So they decided to undertake a campaign
against the Mountain-Indians, resolving to kill the men and
carry off the women as chief booty. In order to have a motive
or pretext for an attack they declared that the herdsmen of
Cordua had stolen their cattle. To ensure victory they re-
paired their bows and arrows and lances and engaged in

physical training for a long time beforehand. They took a [180]
coyote to represent the enemy. They practised a warwhoop,
consisting of three calls which were uttered simultaneously
by them all, always in octaves from the highest to the lowest
note, with an effect as though proceeding from a single throat.
The first time I ever heard these yells I happened to be working
in the garden, and not knowing the significance of the sounds
I went up a hill, from where I saw to my surprise a number of
naked Indians armed with bows, arrows, and lances, hastening
in my direction. . . Had I known nothing of their projected
campaign against the Mountain-Indians I would have taken to
my heels, but as it was I remained under an oak tree, curious
to discover what they were about. It appeared that they were
merely pursuing a wolf, as an exercise in running . . .

"The campaign was finally undertaken, the Indians taking [181]
with them some of the Cordua herdsmen, supplied with lassos.
However, the whole affair seems to have turned out a failure,
for they are said to have returned without a single woman.
Some of the Minal-Indians told me that they had approached
the first village of the Mountain-Indians in the evening, but
had deferred their attack until the next morning, as a result
of which they failed in their attack, as the enemy had had time
to be informed of their intention. Only one Mountain-Indian
was killed, and he by my friend Seie , who told me that he
[the enemy] was about to kill him [Seie], when with great

swiftness he shot at him, but Seie evaded the arrow which would [181]
have hit him in the eye, and sent an arrow into his body, where-
upon the wounded man uttered a loud shriek and fell backward.
Seie then cut off his head, and removed the pelican bones from
the dead man's neck, hanging them around his own neck as a war
trophy. None of the Valley Indians were killed, and the booty
also was inconsiderable, viewed from the matrimonial plans
which had occasioned the campaign."

In the fall of 1847 Lienhard returned to Sutters Fort and
was then employed by Sutter as overseer of the building of a
flour mill on the American river, and the sawmill some 50
miles farther on. In addition to whites, Lienhard writes that
Sutter employed many Mountain-Indians, whom he obtained from [193]
various chief who served him as overseers. These Sutter
flattered by calling them 'Captain' and they received higher
wages than the ordinary workman, who had to work a couple of
weeks for a pair of cotton stockings or a cotton shirt or the
material for the same. At one time the wool weavers and
spinners at the Fort were all Indians; also the millers,
bakers, cooks and herdsmen. In addition there were about 30
Indians who acted as drivers and agricultural workers.

About December 1847 Lienhard was commissioned by the
Government to substitute for Sutter, who was the Government
Indian Agent, in the work of counting the number of Indians
of the various tribes. He says, "The result of this count [201]

✓ [Site of present Coloma]

convinced me that the population had considerably decreased, [201]
for I found several completely deserted communities, and in
some villages or camping places I found quantities of human
bones scattered on the ground . . . "

After the discovery of gold, Lienhard went to the region
about Coloma. At one time he took with him a flock of sheep
and says that "the Indians, most of whom were gold diggers, [256]
were glad to have him in that region, as they were always
glad to buy sheep". Referring to the Indian method of
killing sheep, Lienhard writes, "At first I killed the animals
by cutting their throats, but the Indians would not have this,
and their method was indeed much less bloody. Two men held
the body of the sheep, and a third gave a quick twist to its
head, thereby breaking the spinal column and causing instan-
taneous death . . . "

"When eating [mutton] they replaced on the fire portions
which were not fully roasted. I was particularly interested
to see them eat the skin which they appeared to consider a
kind of delicacy. The skin with the attached wool was laid [257]
on the glowing coals, from which arose a delicious odor. In
a short time the entire skin had shrivelled up to a uniform
mass which the Indians ate with gusto. The guts were also
eaten, the Indians holding them with their toes, as well as
hands."

Lienhard describes the funeral obsequies of two Indians who were killed by miners up the river from his camp at Coloma, one of the victims being a chief and the uncle of Lienhard's Indian servant Könnöck. He writes:

"Hardly had night fallen when the sounds to which I was familiar from my garden in Minal were heard from afar, and the Indians approached in a torch-light procession. It was too dark to distinguish whether they bore the bodies of the dead with them. My Könnöck wanted to join the mourning party and to offer the last honors to his uncle. I told him to say to his relatives and friends that I was very angry at the deeds of the white men, and that I regretted the death of their chief, but added that if vengeance were taken on us, we should protect ourselves in every way. Könnöck, however, thought that we should not be molested . . .

"When Könnöck had gone, the Mogriner Indians who ^{was still} always went with Dürr and his landwoman Mary also wanted to go, but my Indian Aboga dissuaded them saying, 'The people are now excited and wild. If a man outside the tribe appears at the cremation it would not be strange if the relatives should be enraged at such a person. I myself am an Indian from this country, only from Sacramento, yet I do not dare to go, for I know how our people have acted under similar conditions. The people are now stirred up over everything.

" A fire was lighted in the distance, which soon burned

brightly and was surrounded by dark forms who began individually [260]
to utter mourning sounds, others gradually joined in until at
length all were contributing to the inharmonious singing, weeping,
and howling, which they accompanied by wild gesticulations, and
which my dog answered with his howl, which gave me the creeps.
Gradually the noise became lower and nearly subsided. Only
occasional sounds were still heard and the movements about the [261]
fire were much quieter. It was as if they had to rest after
their strenuous work, in order that they might start again later
with renewed vigor. This was indeed so, for gradually, little by
little, the same earsplitting shrieking and howling began again,
mounting to the highest conceivable point, then sinking from
this uncanny peak to a horrible deadly stillness. This went on
the whole night long, and not until morning did all become quiet,
when only at intervals a sound could be heard, which in a mild
tone of weeping seemed to give expression to sorrow. When the
wind blew the smoke our way it brought an odor of burnt flesh. . .

"When the sun rose no one could be seen at the burial place,
but we could still hear a trace of weak mourning tones, like
those of a sick person. After breakfast I went down and and
found the brother of the dead chief, huddled beside a mound
which resembled a large molehill. He was very sleepy and weary
so that at first he did not sense my presence, and from time to
time a sob escaped him.....

"The grave mound . . . was about 2 feet wide and was smoothly
rounded off, with a bowl-like depression at the head in which
beads made of pelican bones had been carefully laid."

In the afternoon Lienhard rode to the village where the [262]
murdered man had lived, but found it deserted.

Lienhard states that the site where Eliza City was founded, [295]
on Feather River about 4 miles above Haack Farm, where the
river takes a big bend was the site of the former settlement
of the Sisum Indians.

Californien -- Bilder aus dem Leben des Heinrich Lienhard,
pp. 124-5, 156, 162-8, 170, 173, 177-181, 193, 201, 256,
257, 260-2, 295, Zurich, 1898.

Translated 1923.

Father Martin - visit to rancheria Bubal
on Tulare, 1804/

FATHER MARTIN'S REPORT OF A VISIT TO RANCHERIA BUBAL IN THE TULARES, 1804.

My venerable Father José Senan: On the 4th of April of this year, the Rev. Father Prefect asked me to inform your Reverence concerning the condition of the gentiles near this mission and their disposition to receive holy baptism. Complying with your orders, I say frankly that they have shown good will toward the soldiers who at different times have been there; also toward the Fathers who have gone there; and even toward the neophytes, who have visited in the Tular region on many occasions. Their good will would probably be constant if it were not that the runaway Indians from the N make them hostile. Such was the case of the last wanderers who came from one of the Tulare rancherias called Tache, I was told. Indians on horseback had arrived telling them that the Fathers do nothing but kill Indians. Satan does all that is possible to influence more than 4000 souls who could be placed on the road to salvation if a mission were placed in the tular region. I said this to the Gov. J.J. Arrillaga several times, although I saw he was inclined to found one along the river. In fact in spite of the high opinion I had of the said gentleman I asked him on one occasion when he spoke to me, or rather when he asked what I thought of new foundations in the Tular region, Sir, why do you wish to place a mission where they might not want one? Is it not for the purpose

of killing soldiers and fathers and then the conquest will be taken away from us? Moreover there is more reason that those who wish and those who ask for one may first of all become children of God, for those who do not desire a mission and do not ask for one, take up arms against the soldiers that come to their territory. Father Pedro Muñoz, Señor Moraga and myself can prove this. In order that your Reverence may give attention to it, I shall place before you what I saw in the year 1804 in the rancheria of Bubal when I went with only two soldiers for escorts.

I was repeatedly informed by the neophytes of the neighboring rancherias in the Tular region, that the Tular Indians wished to see me, that they were friendly, and that they wanted me to baptize their children.

At last they told me to come without fear and I confess I went without permission from anyone. I went in the month of November of said year. On the 3rd day, I arrived at the first rancheria Bubal, which I named La Salve. As soon as they saw me, the gentiles knocked at some of the houses for the gentile women, and when they saw that we were coming peacefully, they came out to make a fire in order to warm up the Father's dinner, which they did, burning sticks, which they brought from a distance of more than 8 leagues. They had to do this when the Indians of the near

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villages gathered together for a feast. Neither did they burn them although it was certainly very cold and within a few leagues not even a chamisal could be found. In the afternoon those from the heart of said rancharia came to ask me to go where they were, saying that the place I was had few people and has no children to be baptized. I promised to go on the following day, which I did. As soon as I arrived, they brought their little children for me to baptize and there were many of them so that the two soldiers who accompanied me said, "It is well." At the best there were not less than 200 children that we have seen. Seeing such a harvest, your Reverence may imagine how happy I would be on seeing so many little children reach Heaven. But Satan, always the tempter, made it then so that not one could be gained.

It happened that the chief was not at this place (which I named La Dolorosa) so that it was necessary for me to call him for I did not dare to take them without his consent. A gentile was acting captain and so I put before him the reason for my visit which was to make of them children of God. My proposition did not please him and he began to challenge the soldiers to a fight in spite of his own poor arms. The poor fellows who had given me their

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little children, perhaps frightened, marched away in files, and I remained without anyone.

This man's name was Chape. The next day I censured him as much as I could for his wicked way of procedure and although I was tempted to order him punished, thanks be to God, I contented myself with the above saying, thinking that one of the soldiers was the one in charge of the escort, and that the Father and soldiers must hope for a just reprimand in case that we are the injured, and I abandoned my undertaking which was not to return home without visiting the other rancherias and to bring back as many little boys as they could give me. Finally I returned home entirely disconsolate for having lost, on account of a malicious fellow, such a harvest for Heaven. I note that this person was taken to Monterey and that he has repented in such a manner that I believe he would be one of the first ones to receive the salutary waters of baptism.

Martin, Fr. Juan. Visita á los gentiles tularenos. 1804,
Arch. Sta. Barbara, Vol. vi, pp. 85-9, Bancroft Library.

Juan de Ortega + Jose D. Pico
expeditions to Tulare Lake area, 1815

EXPEDITIONS TO RANCHERIAS OF TULARE LAKE REGION, 1815

The following are translations of diaries kept by Sergeants Juan de Ortega and José Dolores Pico, commanders of two expeditions sent out in November 1815 from the Mission of San Juan Bautista and San Miguel to look for runaway Indians in the vicinity of Tulare Lake and Kings River.

The expedition visited the rancherias of Bubal, Cheneches, Chenem, Cholam, Choynoct, Copicha or Cupicha, Gumilchis, Malim, Nopchenches, Nototonto, Tache, and Tape.

The diaries are accompanied by a letter from Ortega to Governor Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, dated San Juan Bautista, December 3, 1815, and reporting his part of the expedition before he joined Pico.

The translations are from original MSS in the Huntington Collection of the Bancroft Library.

Ortega, Juan de, Diario que forma el sargento . . . Don Juan de Ortega segun los sitios que por orden del Senor Govor. se me mando registrar contando desde el dia 4 de Noviembre hasta el dia que se junto con el sargento José Dolores Pico en el Rio de Reyes. MS 1815.

Pico, José Dolores, Diario que forma el sargento José Dolores Pico por orden del Senor Govor. Don Pablo Vincente de Sola desde el dia tres de Noviembre del año de 1815.

Letter: Juan de Ortega to Gov. Tente Conl. y Govor. Don Pablo Vicente de Sola.

Diary kept by Sergeant Juan de Ortega, according to the sites explored under the order of the Senor Governor, from the 4th day of November to the day he joined Sergeant Jose Dolores Pico on Kings River. [In 1815]

November 4.---About 10 o'clock at night I reached the Mission of San Miguel with a party of 15 men, which on the same night united with a party the same size from Monterey.

November 5.---Today I set out from this mission accompanied by the Rev. Father Juan Cabot, together with the aforementioned party. We passed the night at the place of Cholan.

November 6.---We spent all day in this place resting the horses.

November 7.---We started out at daybreak and went to spend the night at Chenem, remained here until the sunset of the 8th, traveling all night in order not to be seen by the Indians; as we were on the plain of the Tular, and as it was a country without trail or road, the guide and all of us lost our way without knowing where we were. But on sending Captain Juan Arroyo and another soldier with the guide to explore, they returned after a long time with the news that we were near Kings River. I at once ordered the men to spur on their horses, and even with that we did not reach the crossing of the river until daybreak.

November 8.--Knowing it was fruitless to fall upon the rancheria of Tache on this day as the sun was already up, I decided to remain all day, hidden in a bend made by the river, and by good fortune they seized two old Indians who came to fish, and were returning to their rancheria of Tache. They told us where we were. On the same afternoon at sunset I decided to send two men on horseback, hidden in the winding of the river, to stop these Indians who were going to their rancheria. After a little two Indians appeared before them on horseback by the same plain of the river, with their beasts in sight, and one of them loaded with fish, which they were carrying in this way to their rancheria, but seeing that they were to be attacked by the soldiers they abandoned horses and saddle, and swam across the river, and because of the darkness of the night, the river, the tule, and the forest, it was impossible to catch them. The soldier Martin Ilibera knew from the saddle that it belonged to the runaway Indian Antonio, from the Mission of La Soledad.

November 10.--At daybreak I fell upon the rancheria of Tache (although very low-spirited over the news which I suspected the two fugitive Indians gave them in the night). And in truth I found the rancheria without people, and after going a little way met three armed Indians^{at a distance of 100 varas.} I spoke to them through the interpreter. The answer that they gave us was that they were afraid, and hid within the tule of the lake here. I stayed here until about nine o'clock in

the morning calling to them, the Father joining in with me, so that finally some 8 or 9 appeared unarmed, but keeping within the lake and tule, no urgency availing to bring them out, for they told us that all their people were hidden in the marsh, frightened because the fugitive Indians and other run-away Christian Indians from La Soledad had told them that they were going to kill them all at the point of the lance. Three horses were found here, one from San Miguel and two from La Soledad, which the runaway Indians had. These Indians informed us that the Indian Antonio with his companions the preceding night had taken the road for the rancheria of Notonto for the purpose of anticipating our visit to this rancheria, so that we did not succeed in taking a large number of these prisoners. But it was a mistake, for we arrived shortly before sunset at this rancheria and were received with much friendliness by the Indians, who set out to receive us on the road, telling us of their poverty, and that these two fugitives had not arrived there. Then the father and some soldiers dismounted and visited the rancheria. We withdrew a little distance from it and camped about a gun-shot away, where the Indians came to serve the troop bringing wood and water.

November 11.--At daybreak the Indians came back and took leave of us with much courtesy, taking us on the road to the rancheria of Telame, where we arrived at sunset.

We found this ranheria greatly scattered because of the great mortality that there was there and the famine which had been predicted. But they received us with much pleasure, giving us their unfortunates, and the Father succeeded in baptizing 4 women who were very old and dying.

November 12.---We set out in search of the ranheria of Choynoct. It took us almost all day before we were able to locate it, finding it in the same way and under the same conditions as the preceding one. From here we went to spend the night up the river of San Gabriel.

November 13.---We set out to pass the night at the crossing of this river.

November 14.---We took the road for the ranheria of Sumtache, and after we had gone about a league^{and a half} within the tule by a narrow path, we came to the ranheria with from 20 to 30 armed men on the other side of an arm of the lake. After we had spoken with them and told them why we had come, they disarmed themselves and several of them came to where we were. Reproached because they received the troop in this way, they answered that they were afraid because the run-away Indians from La Soledad had told them that the people from La Soledad were coming to kill them all. The Father asked them where the 4 Indians were who set out from his mission to run away to this ranheria. They answered that two of them had gone to the ranheria of Buval to unite with the Christians who had been permitted to go there, and so it proved, and that the other two had gone the preceding week to the ranheria of Tulamne to the

south. After instructing them concerning the order of the Senor Governor that they were not to take in any runaways whatever, we went on our way to the rancheria of Bubal, where we arrived at 11 o'clock at night, because they had moved from their regular site and the guide did not know it. We were received here with as much pleasure as at the former rancherias.

November 15.---At daybreak we set out on our way to unite with the party of Sergeant Dolores Pico, and accomplished it at 7 o'clock in the morning. On all our way we did not find any horses slaughtered by the Indians, or wrong intent on their part, except for the fear which the runaway Indians from Soledad had inspired in the rancherias of Tache and Sumtache. I omitted to mention that in the rancheria of Tache the Father baptized a single man whom, overcome with leprosy and sickness, we found in this rancheria.

On the remainder of the expedition, until December 2, I joined in the diary which Sergeant Dolores Pico kept, because there was nothing else to add.

Mission of San Juan Bautista, December 2, 1815.

[Signed] Juan de Ortega

Diary kept by Sergeant Jose Dolores Pico by order of Senor Governor Don Pablo Vicente de Sola from November 3, 1815.

November 3.--I set out from the Presidio for the rancho of Real Hacienda , where I joined the troop under my command. Nothing of importance happened today.

November 4.-- Today I reviewed the troops, munitions, and arms, and at 5 o'clock in the afternoon set out on my march traveling toward the place of the Ausaimas, and at about 7 o'clock at night I arrived with a soldier at the Mission of San Juan, where I found the Rev. Father Jaime Escude, and reviewing the troop which was to set out with me from this mission, we set out on our way, the Father with us, at a quarter past twelve at night. We overtook the other troop in the Arroyo of San Benito at about 1 o'clock in the morning without incident.

November 5.--We went on our way toward the place cited. There I found the citizens Cornelio Lucas Altamira, Manuel Pinto, and Quintin Ortega, all with arms and horses. I remained here the rest of the day. . .

November 6.--We set out from this place at about 5 o'clock in the morning going toward the east, and at about 7 o'clock at night reached the place of San Luis Gonzaga, which is at the foot of the range at the edge of the valley of Tulares. Here we passed the night without event.

November 7.--In the morning I again reviewed the troop and the munitions, and at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon we set out traveling toward the east, and at 12 o'clock at night reached the Culares at the arroyo called San Jose, where we crossed, remaining there through the night until it was time to fall upon the rancheria of the Cheneches.

November 8.-- At about 3 o'clock in the morning we set out from this place and fell upon this rancheria at 4 o'clock. Sixty-six Indians, gentiles and Christians, men and women, were captured. Of them we released 4 men and 12 old women. The greater part of these people had gone away because this rancheria was in a poor place. We found here 9 horses alive and 5 dead. There was not much time and the Father baptized a little girl who was dying to whom he gave the name of Severa. These people informed ^{me} that about 4 leagues up the San Joaquin River where there was another rancheria called the Nopchenches, there were many horses, and that the Christian runaways Justo, Damian, Severo and Pedro Pablo were there. I sent Captain Juarez with 14 men to seize these Christians and gentiles and to bring back the horses which they said were there. Finding the rancheria they went in, but it had no people. Only the chief and 4 of his companions remained. The captain charged him with the Christians and horses that were there, to which he responded that all his people and all the Christians as soon as they heard the news of the troop that went to the other rancheria, had departed for the tule, and that he alone with these others remained. That he had an idea that they had taken the horses with them to the edge of this tule., and that there

were two who would go to bring them back. This he did, and when he returned the captain told him to call his people with determination and to apprehend them so that they would help to catch the Christians. He said that he was going to bring them, and he went away with the two who had gone before, and did not return, although they waited for a long time. When he saw that they were not coming back, they returned and gave me the news. We started to this same place of San Jose. Here I consulted with the captains and decided not to attack the rancheria of Malim which was in the tular, and very restless we returned without incident.

November 9.--This morning I ordered Captain Castillo to conduct to the Presidio 54 Indians, including gentiles and Christians, and then having started out I took the road to the south, setting out through the tule, and having traveled on the edge of this tule for about 8 leagues, I turned toward the San Joaquin River in an easterly direction. I reached this river at about 6 in the afternoon, and they told me that on the other side armed gentiles were passing. I immediately sent Juarez with people across to reconnoiter, and the gentiles seeing the soldiers, crossed the river, went back to their rancheria which was near, and began to shoot without finding out anything more. Seeing this I ordered the captain to fire upon them killing two, at the same time assisted by the rest of the troop. They withdrew somewhat to the wood and I ordered a circle made with the troops and horses, and ordered them to move again, and after a short consultation with the captains we

agreed to withdraw until another day to a distance of two leagues to rest and to pass the night.

November 10.--At 3 o'clock in the morning of this day the soldier Mariano Soberanes informed me that he went for a walk and that near the camp he saw a fire in a wood. I ordered the soldier Archuleta to go out to reconnoiter and he returned telling me that the fire was about a gun-shot away, and that it was probably that of the gentiles of the day before who wanted to attack us in the early morning. I gave orders to the sentinels to keep a sharp lookout and at 5 o'clock in the morning I ordered two men to reconnoiter the place where the fire was, and as soon as they approached they were met by the gentiles who were already coming upon us at the camp, and they shot at them first. At this we heard the cry that they made. I hastened with the troop, sending them forward where they formed in flank. I called to the interpreter to ask them what they wanted and they answered, to fight, and though they were told at the wish of the chief that there was no danger for them, it had no effect and they began to fight. Seeing this, I ordered them to fire, and withdrawing in the same wood, I ordered the troop to follow, and when they were upon them they killed 3 and caught one alive. Among the dead there was one Christian from the Mission of San Juan who had led the horse thieves. Of those who escaped some were known to have been wounded because of the great quantity of blood that I saw by the river, and I was certain that they would die.

This action finished, I ordered Captain Juarez with 10 men to go to reconnoiter this rancheria named Copicha to see if there were any horses. He brought back one and also two gentiles who were of those who had taken part in the action, and both confessed that they had been following us up to that place for the purpose of killing us, and that the dead Christian was the one who planned this. In the night they shot some arrows but did not harm us. In this action there was no incident except that the soldier Juan Espinosa received an arrow between his jacket and skin, but it did not harm him. At eleven o'clock on that day we took the road to the south, inclined a little to the east, and at a distance of 8 leagues 11 beasts were found belonging to the rancheria of Tape which was in the same plain of the river within the wood, and these were caught, leaving the rancheria for the return, as it was already afternoon. After about 4 leagues we reached the junction of the San Joaquin and San Jose rivers where we spent the night, one horse being worn out and useless from the journey. Here we camped without incident.

November 11.--At 9 o'clock in the morning we took the direction of the preceding day by San Jose River, and after 4 leagues we crossed it. We traveled to the east to avoid some bad crossings and after a league took the same direction, and camped 9 leagues away on the same shore, having left on the road a horse worn out and useless and a filly from those we had captured from the gentiles. Here we camped without event.

November 12.--At five o'clock of the same morning we started in the same direction, and after 10 leagues we found a large burned area where there were some gentiles, and as soon as we saw them we tried to catch them, and as soon as they saw us they presented themselves without any malice. They informed us that the troop which accompanied Don Juan Ortega had been seen the day before on Kings River. I told them to take us there, which they did, finding on the way two rancherias of these same people called Gumilchis, who showed themselves to be kindly disposed. I made them understand that our great chief who governed us wanted them all to be happy, to let the troops pass safely, and not to hide Christians or horses in their rancherias, for this chief forbade it. We crossed the river where we found the trail of the cited troop, and after following it about a league we camped without event.

November 13.---. . . At 7 o'clock in the morning we took the road to the south and after 4 leagues made camp.

November 14.--This day we remained in the same place. November 15.---
The troop arrived after watering the beasts at about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, with the horses very much worn out, and 3 leagues away they had left 7 tired beasts.

November 16.--They brought in the 7 exhausted beasts so that we had to put off our departure until the following day.

November 17.--At 3 o'clock in the afternoon we set out from this place and returning by the same road visited in

passing the rancheria of Nototo, where we were received with much friendliness, and having told them the story which we did to the Gumilchis, at a distance of 2 leagues we crossed the river toward the west where we spent the night without event.

November 18.--Today we kept on in the same direction a little to the northwest. We wanted to visit in passing the rancherias that we had seen before, who having caught sight of the troop had gone away, and though we called to them through the interpreter they did not come. We took another road coming to sleep at a marshy place which there was near the edge of the tule, to which we gave the name of San Pablo. Here we passed the night without event.

November 19.--We set out from this place at 2 o'clock in the afternoon to attack a rancheria that the guides said was in the plain of San Joaquin River, and when it seemed to us that we were near, we waited for daylight to attack it, and recovered the two beasts which had previously been left exhausted on the same spot, without event.

November 20.--At about 3 o'clock in the morning we traveled to the cited river in search of the rancheria which the guide spoke of, and having reached it asked this guide where the rancheria was. He said it was far away, but that we would reach it at sunset. We asked him why he had deceived us and he answered because he was afraid and asking him again, he said that the rancheria of Tapee was the one which was on that road. But as it was afternoon we determined to guard the horses that were left with 10 soldiers

We asked the guide where the ford was so that we could join with the rest of the troop and the horses, but we did not find it because the guide had deceived us, and we slept at the junction of the two rivers San Jose and San Joaquin, about a league away from each.

November 21.--At 9 o'clock in the morning we joined the troop and the horses, killing on the way two deer which served for the troop who had been without food. We passed the day determined to attack the rancheria at 4 o'clock in the morning, which we did not do, because the horses made a great stampede at about 10 o'clock in the night, so that with all the troop mounted it was not possible to catch them because they were divided into several lots, and several of the beasts were lost. With this event the Christian Indian from Santa Cruz deserted, who accompanied us to Kings River, for seeing him so faithful he had been unfettered so that he could endure the journey better.

November 22.--In the morning the beasts were counted and 65 were found lacking. The captains Francisco Juarez, Antonio Olibera, Juan Arroyo, and the trusted Jose Villav^o were immediately ordered to take 10 men each (except Olibera who had 4) and to scatter in several directions. They found 38 beasts. Juarez found these toward the east, killing a horse that was exhausted. Arroyo who went to the south brought news that the trail was on the road to the entrance to La Soledad, and it being afternoon he returned.

Villav^o who went to the north brought news that about a league and a half away was a rancheria, and near it an animal belonging to those we had lost that night. That he had seen the tracks of the horses who stopped to drink water; that no sooner had he come out from the wood than he saw some old men who were going into the wood, and they did not bring away the beast for fear of being seen by these old men, from whom they were partly hidden. Olibera did not bring back any news. It was decided to attack the rancheria at daybreak if there should be any people remaining in it.

November 23.--Today we set out for the cited rancheria which according to information given us by the gentile prisoners was that of Tapee and situated on both sides of the river. They seized three old gentile men and a Christian man from Santa Cruz and 8 old women. Here we found 238 beasts killed not long ago, much dry meat, 16 live beasts including mares and tame horses, two pierced with arrows and others ill-treated. The most of these horses belonged to San Juan Mission. I asked these gentiles where were the people from that rancheria who first observed us down the river together with the other three who knew we were going in search of them. They answered that they had gone to the mountains and that a few of the people were in front of the rancheria in a forest. The troop went away on foot in search of them and found no one. The missionary was certain and after punishing the old ones, they set out. It was decided that Capt. Arroyo should immediately go on the trail that we had left the day before taking 10 men, each with

two beasts, and that on the following day he should return with the horses or without them. Here the troop was supplied by the gentiles with some dry fish (although poor) and some rice and with what they had we passed the two days here without event.

Nov. 24. Capt. Arroyo came back at 4 in the afternoon with the news that the horses had gone on to San Luis Gonzaga and we determined to go on our way without event.

Nov. 25. On this day we continued on our expedition and at 7 in the morning arrived at the rancheria of Cupicha. We found it uninhabited. (It is in the same plain of San Joaquin River near El Tecolote.) We got information from the gentiles that we carried with us and they told us they had moved to the mountains. We crossed the river to the west from where Captain Arroyo was sent in pursuit of the trail he had left the day before, being told the place where he was to meet us and taking with him 4 men and 2 vaqueros, who were going with supplies to San Luis Gonzaga as usual until they found the track that led them to Manuel Butron who was coming as far as this place bringing with him a sack of pinole which he had kept guarded there and two from the priest. At 7 in the morning Arroyo returned with the news that he had found the trail of Butron. Several of the soldiers were sick . . . Today they caught 6 elk and fed the troop with them. Tonight it rained and we stayed in the Arroyo of San Jose without event.

Nov. 26. Today the soldiers Gabriel Espinosa and Jose Avellanes were sick and the sick ones of the day before were better. They caught 3 elk which served them for food. At

about 9 o'clock at night a man who separated himself from the troop and went a short distance reported that Butron followed the trail of the horses as far as the hill. At about 8 o'clock at night, when Joaquin Juarez and Capt. Arroyo were sentinels in the camp a gentile gnawed the rope with which he was tied and got free. Capt. Juarez cried that the prisoner was getting away. The troop ran to the little tule that there was in front of us, but could not find him. The captain and soldier whose fault it was were put under guard with the horses until further orders. And there was no further event.

Nov. 27. It was decided to fall upon the rancheria of Malim leaving 15 soldiers, 2 captains and 10 vaqueros with the horses. We set out at one o'clock in the afternoon in the rain. We traveled also to the north and arriving at the San Joaquin River, entered the rancheria of Cheneche which was uninhabited. We went down the river and after about 3 leagues we came upon tracks of people on foot at the edge of a forest. A captain with 4 soldiers went to examine this place and in the middle they found an old blind man and an old woman. They came to report this and were sent back to see if we could get information from them, but they could not find them. We spent the night here without incident but very uncomfortable because of the rain to which we had been exposed in the afternoon.

Nov. 28. In the morning of this day we started out in the same direction and after about half a league came to the rancheria of the Cheneches, which was found with two women, it being perceived that the rest of the people had seen us and

gone away. We followed their track in the same direction which led us through woods and tulares, but could not find anyone. After about 2 leagues we reached the junction of the Mariposas with this river. The guide that we took with us who was from this rancheria had previously told us that he knew the rancheria of Malim and when he was there said he did not know where it was, and if he did know that those were their lands, we could ourselves look for the rancheria. It was ordered to give him 10 lashes and while this was happening, the soldiers saw some gentiles who were going up river from Las Mariposas, and the troop separating in several directions we succeeded in capturing 2 Christians from Santa Cruz and 3 gentiles who took us to the rancheria, first finding a hut of these same people, but without being able to seize any. The rancheria was about 3 leagues to the west, but after we had gone about a quarter of a league we were told that it was behind us, and as we found that we had passed within a gunshot of the trail to it, we knew that they had purposely deceived us, giving the inhabitants an opportunity to escape. Here we found two horses and the tracks of a few. (According to the tracks which were observed this rancheria did not have so many horses for it was known that where the gentiles had done such terrible damage was from Tapee up to and including the Cheneches, for over 500 dead beasts had been found in these places). From here we returned to the Arroyo of Santa Rita, where Capt. Juarez with 6 soldiers was sent to join the other troop taking the horses on the following day to San Luis Gonzaga.

Here except for the rain without event.

Nov. 29. We set out for San Luis Gonzaga in the rain at about 2 in the afternoon and Captain Juarez at about 5, leaving 14 exhausted beasts of those recovered in the tulares which they killed.

Nov. 30. We set out from this place at about 6 in the morning and arrived at Los Ausaymas at about 5 in the afternoon, leaving in this neighborhood 78 beasts, most of which had been removed from the tulares and were killed, and the others arrived at the place with some difficulty at 8 o'clock at night without further event.

Dec. 1. We remained in this place without incident to rest our horses.

Dec. 2. We arrived at the Mission of San Juan with 10 sick soldiers, without further event.

Dec. 3. By daybreak they felt better and we continued our march to the Presidio, sending 9 prisoners to their destination under the guard of soldiers.

Governor Don Pablo Vicente de Sola:

I herewith transmit to your Excellency the diary which I kept from Nov. 4 when I arrived at San Miguel to the 15th of the next month when I joined Sergeant Pico, from which time I refer to the diary kept by this Sergeant, in order not to leave out or to repeat anything.

According to the instruction which it has pleased you to send me, I may say that the last rancheria visited was to be that of the Notontos but I saw that it would have to be one of the first because they had received information from the gentile Indians of Tache--the two runaway Indians, Antonio and another Christian from Soledad having passed this way as cited in the diary under date of November 9.. In the other rancherias I found no trouble except that in Tache and Sumtache I was insulted by the Christians from the fear which the soldiers had inspired that they were going to kill them.

In the rancheria of Tache 3 beasts were found, one from San Miguel and one from Soledad. . .

At the junction of the San Joaquin and San Jose rivers where I went on the 21st, at night there was a stampede of horses which it was not possible to prevent with all the troop because of the darkness of the night. But after they had controlled most of them, the next day at daybreak, they were counted and 65 found missing. I at once sent three parties

in different directions. And the Capt. Francisco Juarez brought back 28 which he found at a distance of 6 leagues to the south. There were 27 lacking which the other two parties did not find throughout the day. The following day I sent Capt. Antonio Olivira of my company, in other directions and José Villavicencio in charge with directions to both parties to follow the tracks with all perseverance until they found the beasts. And at night they returned saying that they could not find the trail. Seeing this I determined to set out from this junction to attack the rancheria of Tapa, and did so, finding in it a large number of horses killed not long since and according to my count there were 136 head, and many old tracks, so that all together there were probably a little more than 200. The people^{found}/were an old man and old woman who could no longer see because of their great age. Here I ordered the troop with guns and shields to enter on foot a little wood that sheltered the same rancheria and they found two gentiles, one blind and the other, a Christian from Santa Cruz, half sick (it was he who was leading them) and 8 women also incurable who could not stand. These gave us information that on the other side of the river in another grove about a gunshot away there were people. I ordered the troop to do as before and they found no one, only fresh and old tracks of horses. In the rancheria first searched were found 15 mares, most of

them tied, also the horse of the Militiaman Juestin Ortega. Everything finished I crossed to the other side of the river where I passed the night.

At the same time that the search providentially ended, Capt. Juan Arroyo set out with 10 soldiers for the lost horses and after 2 days returned telling me that he had found no tracks--other than a trail which went in the direction of San Luis Gonzaga and that he acknowledged that they could be of the lost animals because there were traces of cord on two of them, and on the night of the stampede several of the runaway horses were tied round the neck with this kind of cord and the track of a mule that was also in the stampede. This news consoled me greatly.

After two days I set out from this rancheria of Tape for that of Cupcha, which was one that Serg. Pico attacked, before he joined me. I crossed the river called Santa Rita to sleep and before reaching it sent the same Capt. Arroyo mentioned above to follow the same track and when he came up with it to follow it until his horses became tired and take the same 4 soldiers and 2 vaqueros. They went to the foot of the hill of San Luis Gonzaga where the trail led them and from there they went to San Luis Gonzaga from which place they brought us food which had been left there previously and on their return they reported that they lost the trail of the other horses. .

I reached the aforementioned Santa Rita River at night where I slept and where Capt. Arroyo with the 10 soldiers found me. And at night while the soldier Joaquin Juarez was sentinel, one of the Indian prisoners cut the cord that bound him with his teeth and got free, several soldiers and the Capt. Francisco Juarez being present at the time. The Indians went after him as he fled, but could not get him as he hid in the tule.

At the junction of San Joaquin and San José Rivers I was crossing at the same time that the Indian fled, who was called Damien, a Christian whom Sergeant Dolores Pico was bringing unbound from Laguna de San Pablo to Kings River.

In the rancharia of the Christian Indian called Coletto they obtained 5 fugitives, (2 Christians from Santa Cruz and 3 gentiles) and 3 others, making 8 all together that were caught, the Christian and the gentiles those whom another sergeant was conducting to Monterey.

In all they seized 53 horses, of which 10 belonged to Quintia Ortega, 1 to Manuel Pinto, 2 to the pueblo, 9 to Soledad, and all the rest to the mission of San Juan Bautista. Of the hundred cited, they delivered no more than 17, which Sergeant Rio told me Captain Castillo delivered. All the others were left on the road dead from exhaustion. . . .

[Signed] Juan de Ortega

Mission of San Juan Bautista

December 3, 1815

A. Ma. Osio - Campaign against Estanislao

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE INDIAN ESTANISLAO

Antonio Ma. Osio, in a MS Hist. of California, presumably prepared for Fray Jose Ma. Suarez de Real in 1851 to enable him to write a history of California, gives the following account of the uprising of the Indian Estanislao.

"On the day that the Alcalde Estanislao set out with all his tribe from San Jose' Mission to fortify himself in his rancheria (a place which ultimately received his name) because he was so obstinate he could not stand being ordered about by anyone, Padre Narciso Duran immediately notified the Commander of the Presidio, and asked him to send out a sufficient number of troops to bring back the fugitives. Sergeant Antonio Soto was chosen for this purpose, and 15 men, who were to be equipped immediately. This soldier, who had been long in the service, merited the confidence of his superiors, and had the advantage of knowing the language of these Indians; but on the other hand he was too foolhardy, a defect which brought about grave consequences. (126) (127)

On starting out on the march from San Francisco, he was to pass by the Mission of San Jose' where the Padre had provided the necessities for the expedition, and which would not delay him being on the way to his destination.

The rancheria was in the midst of a willow grove, overrun everywhere with grape vines and other climbers branching in every direction, so that the sun could not penetrate it, and much less could we enter it for a battle. As the troops approached, the war cry resounded throughout the woods and some

Indians came to the edge to hurl insulting epithets at the soldiers, 128 especially ^{at} the sergeant, who, they knew, could understand what they said in their language. He bore it better at first to see if a conference with Estanislao could be obtained, but Estanislao absolutely refused to speak to him, at the same time egging on his people to their evil cries to provoke him to enter the wood. When he heard his name with the epithet of 'coward' and that 'he would enter if he were a man', he could not contain himself. He spoke to six of his most trusted soldiers and as they started on foot, he commanded the captain to circle the wood with the other soldiers and mounted horsemen until they came to a high tree which he marked on the opposite edge where he would go to meet them after passing through the midst of it. He had the good fortune to cross all right until he came to the tree cited, but the soldiers that were outside were prevented by the many miry places from entering and had to return to the point where the Sergeant had entered, who also returned at the same time minus two men, the other four with five or six arrows in the face and head and he with one below the right eye. . .

The Indians well knew that arrows aimed at the bodies of the soldiers would have no effect because they would not penetrate their leather jackets. Also favored by the dense foliage, their knowledge of the place and the fact that they could not be seen at a distance of more than 6 varas, they were were very sure of their shots, and not only killed a sufficient number, but left the soldiers unable to continue in action, for their wounds needed immediate attention; and they set out at once with them, traveling with difficulty because of the acute pain that they suffered, until they came to

the pueblo of San José, where the sergeant died after a few days. The soldiers they succeeded in curing.

This time the Indians had their first triumph over the troops and celebrated it with great feasts and dances, putting the bodies of the slaughtered soldiers into their pageants so that the neighboring tribes who were invited might admire their great bravery and valor.

The commander of the Presidio, wishing to punish these unruly Indians undertook to send a second expedition but many difficulties presented themselves in equipping several of the soldiers who had no horses, nor even mounts, so that the setting out of the 40 men under Alf. José Sanchez was delayed. Sanchez, with the experience he had had in this sort of service, was very prudent and at the same time valiant, so that good results were hoped for his expedition. This man in his preparation for the march took a precaution that proved very favorable. In the leather jackets used on the campaigns, it had not been seen that they had collars, and this time, after so many years, he ordered one put on his, with the desired effect, as I will relate later on. (131)

On reaching Estahislao, they found the wood in a profound silence as if no one lived there. Nevertheless he took the precaution to make fires in different parts, but it was impossible to make them burn without finding dry branches for fuel. With these attempts, the Indians already began to be visible, inspecting the movements of the troops from afar, keeping watch especially of the fires because they were fearful that they would destroy a parapet that they were anxious to keep hidden. The Alferez vacillated about deciding 132

to enter the wood and reconnoiter without putting himself in a position to lose a man. At length he entered until he came to a stockade of heavy large logs where the Indians could make good resistance without exposing themselves. Here he thought it prudent to retreat, setting fires in every direction, and had the good fortune to get out safely, his only misfortune being in receiving an arrow in the neck, which would have proved deadly had it not been for the collar of his leather jacket. He then ordered a counter-march to the Mission of San José, . . .

This day resulted in the getting together of the commanders of the presidios of San Francisco and Monterey to form an expedition that should produce the desired result. They set out from the point referred to with 100 men including cavalry, infantry, and artillery.

At the Mission of San José, there joined them some citizens of the pueblo of San José, and some Indian auxiliaries, old enemies of the rancheria of Estanislao, who formed a powerful and confident body. At the head marched Alf. Guadalupe Vallejo. When they arrived at their destination, the Indians had already been advised of the attack, for they found them well prepared and ready to prove their valor against a greater number of troops than in the previous action. Also in proof that they were expected was their method of fortification, which consisted of a series of three stockades, made secure against the fire of the carbines of the cavalry, and even when this in a heavy attack, dislodged them from the first, they would not have been able to secure it without losing several men at each one, then arriving afterward at a labyrinth of great depth, which communicated with the next one, where as a last

resort the Indians proposed to die fighting. The troops put in formation according to the plan of attack, entered the wood until a shot was fired from the stockade, where its owners waited behind it, being the first to shoot their arrows; at the first shot from the cannon which was pointed to make a breach, several thick logs fell out and killed some Indians. The second had the same effect, which soon undeceived them. Convinced that the stockade was no good for defense against the artillery, for if the balls did no damage, they were killed by the logs that fell with such force from the stockade, and for that reason having no confidence in the second and third stockades, they immediately abandoned them and went into the trenches, where when the troops arrived, after having passed the stockades and unaware that they should be careful, they got a poor old man of the citizen auxiliary, who was the first to come near the mouth 136 of the ditch covered with branches, and shot him with an arrow which pierced to the ribs and killed him instantly.

Everybody grieved over the death of this old man, and in order to greater avenge him, the order for 'no quarter' was given. Among Californians the old adage is given 'There is no splinter like that from its own stick' and on this day it was well proved, for the Indian auxiliaries desirous of avenging old wrongs, watched only for a favorable moment to hurl themselves on Estanislao and his people and when a good opportunity presented itself, they set out like starving greyhounds and immediately made atrocious slaughter. They burned the wood, dragged out those hiding in the trenches, and finally destroyed everything, although Estanislao escaped. In place of him they brought another to Senor Vallejo making all sorts of accusations of murder and robbery against him, asking permission 137

to execute him. This being granted, one of them untied a strip of dirty rag with which he was bound, and covered his eyes. This operation swiftly finish^{ed}, he gave two jumps backward and discharged an arrow with such force that ^{only} its feather remained visible in the forehead. The rest had passed to the brain and the unfortunate one fell dead at the blow. (137)

The trenches which had been dug for battle served them as graves. Some known for their ill deeds were hung by the neck to the highest trees with ropes of vines, as a warning to the others, more especially those that escaped from the rancharia.

Having achieved the object of his expedition, he ordered the return to the Mission San José where as soon as he arrived he was informed that the Padre had hidden Estanislao in one of the rooms of his house. . . Estanislao was pardoned by Senor Echandia, at the request of Fr. Narciso Duran. . . "

Antonio Ma. Osio, Historia de la California, 1815-48, pp. 126-137, Bancroft Library, 1878

Uent. J. F. Palomares - Campaign against
rancheros Jose de Jesus
(Tulame R) Estanislao +
Saulon or Stanislaus, ✓
moquelamar chief

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE RANCHERIAS OF JOSE DE JESUS ON THE
TOULUMNE, ESTANISLAO & SAULON ON THE STANISLAUS, AND
THE MOQUELAMUS CHIEF CIPRIANO AT CALAVERAS

Lieut. José Francisco Palomares, an early resident of San José, who held the office of Juez de Campo 1833-39, in Memoria given to the Bancroft Library, tells of a campaign against the above rancherías made under Peralta.

General Figueroa noting that the gentile Indians ⁽³¹⁾
of the Sierra Nevada,
made frequent raids on the ranches of this jurisdiction
of San José and others, ordered citizen Sebastian Peralta
of San José to get the people together and make a journey
to attack them on their own rancherías. Peralta easily
assembled a force of 17 men most accustomed to fighting
on Indian campaigns and who were always ready to fight
the enemies of their property and their peace and to ex-
terminate them. I was among the number. Nothing of note
happened on the journey of this party from the time we
set out from San Jose until we arrived at the rancheria
of José de Jesus, chief of the tribe of the Tagualumu [Toulumne]
River. He was a christianized Indian, but had deserted ⁽³²⁾
from the Mission, and as he had the good qualities of a
leader, the Indians of the tribe before mentioned, named
him their chief. As we arrived, Gefe Peralta ordered the
attack, but the Indians that occupied the rancheria fled
without making any resistance, perhaps because their chief
was not there, or because they thought our numbers were
too great, leaving 24 beasts of those that they had
stolen. Seeing this, Peralta ordered us to march on, which
we did, arriving shortly at the Estanislao River. Here

there were two tribes or rancherias of Indians who made frequent raids to rob the white people. One of these was commanded by the famous Estanislao (Estanislado), (who took the name of the river) and the other by his

(33)

brother Saulon, a little less renowned than he. Both rancherias were at this time without people, perhaps be-

(34)

cause they had hidden, knowing by some means of our arrival, or because the men were on a campaign and the women, old people, children and sick were hidden in the neighboring woods, as they were accustomed to do in such cases. In any event some few that were taking care of

the stolen beasts ran away on seeing us and we took possession of them without any difficulty. From here we went

on to the rancheria of the Moquelamos (which is called

today Calaveras). We found all the Indian people gathered

in a place called El Zanjon [the ditch] about three leagues away from the home of the tribe. We immediately attacked

them on all sides, firing heavily on them and causing many losses. As they all tried to flee at the same time,

they made a great crowd at which we fired without fear of miscalculating. Finally [their chiefs seeing that we

(35)

were overpowering their people, sent to ask for a truce

by an Indian who spoke Spanish, promising to deliver all of their people up at our discretion. Peralta ordered us

to stop firing instantly and we surrounded them in a place

where the chiefs could not escape us. Immediately we saw

them come out from the arroyo and make a circle, men, 35
women and children, with arms crossed and eyes lowered in
humility. Some of the women carried their children dead
or wounded in their arms, and were weeping in a manner to
move us to compassion; others scarcely able to stand on
their feet came dripping blood, but always with their chil-
dren in their arms. By order ^{of} the commander we tied
Cipriano, the chief of these Indians, and 15 of the worst
men of the tribe; also two Christian Indians from the
Mission of San José who had taken refuge among them. The
others we let go free, promising to exterminate them en- 36
tirely if they again robbed us of our horses or killed
white people. About 30 were left dead in the ditch and
as those who were left alive did not take the trouble to
bury the bodies, they stayed there until they were nothing
but skulls and bones, and for this reason the place was
called Calaveras [skulls]. They had about 15 wounded, some
of whom probably died. Our side did not lose any men, and
it is certain that we surprised them and that they were en-
tirely unarmed for their bows and arrows were left in the
rancheria. The total number of these Indians amounted to
130. Peralta ordered us to conduct the prisoners bound
as they were to the Mission of San José. We set out for
the rancheria, taking the gentiles ahead, tied (like a 37
band of criminals.

By nightfall we came to the junction of the Estanislao
and San Joaquin Rivers. The commander assigned me to take

care of the prisoners, and as I was sleepy and very tired, (37)
I invented a means to secure them so that they could not
escape, even if I went to sleep. To this end, when all
our people were asleep, I took my reata and tied all the
Indians one to another; then I fastened the one on the end
to one tree and ^{the one} on the other end to another, so that the
Indians were left in a position like a string of beads
one after the other. Of course the prisoners were tied
with their hands behind their backs, and I had only to
knot together the cords that bound the hands of each of
them. The next day I saw that they were much inflamed,
perhaps by the movements that they made in the night (38)
in changing their forced position. Peralta ordered me to
conduct them to his presence, which I did, and after order-
ing each one of them to be given a dozen very severe lashes,
he talked to them at length advising them to remain quietly
in their rancherias and not go out to steal horses if they
did not want the white people to exterminate them entirely.
Then he ordered them to be set free, except the two
Christians whom we took to San José, and when they were
lost to view in the woods, he ordered our return to the
pueblo, which we did.

Two weeks afterwards, the chief Cipriano with all
his tribe presented himself to the Mission of San José
to be christianized. A few days afterwards they all
took Christian names, and from that time on this lot of

Indians was the whip of the landowners. They remained 38
very peaceful. Such was the effect produced by the massacre
of the Zanjón de Calaveras.

José Francisco Palomares, Memoria, pp. 31-38, MS, Bancroft
Library, 1877.

Translated by S.R. Clemence

J. F. Palmores - against Santoaguirre P.
Indians 1833-39

SAN JOAQUIN RIVER, CALIF.
FIRST CAMPAIGN FROM SAN JOSE AGAINST INDIAN HORSE THIEVES

Lieut. José Francisco Palomares, (an early resident of San José who held the office of Juez de campo from 1833-1839) ^{in Memoria given to the Bancroft Library,} tells of the following campaign at that time against Indian horse-thieves from the San Joaquin River, who had been making continual raids on the ranches of that region.

One day I went to get my horses which I had for a long time pastured on the border of the town ^{for} greatest security and found that the Indians had taken them away leaving some dead beasts. Furious at such audacity, I went immediately to the pueblo to solicit aid from the Alcalde (who was then Don Pedro Chabolla), pointing out to him the great losses that we would suffer if we did not employ a prompt and efficacious remedy. The Alcalde agreed with my arguments and ordered a meeting of the citizens of the pueblo who were interested in the business and when they were assembled, he said to them in my presence that I was going to pursue the Indians who had been stealing horses and that those that wished to follow me should do so. [As I saw there was little disposition to do so, because they were fearful that there would be too few or because they did not think that they would be robbed of their possessions, I told the Alcalde that he would better assign me a number of men whom I would choose to form the expedition; but he refused, giving

②

③

reasons of little weight. Much disgusted with the refusal, ③
I left them all there and went home, where I mounted my
horse and took the road that the Indians followed, intend-
ing to attack them by myself if there were not too many
of them. My only weapon was a short saber which the colo-
nists who came from Mexico were accustomed to use like a
bayonet. I had not gone far when Pablo Parra, a retired
soldier of the king, and very old, overtook me. He was
mounted on a horse which was also very old and weak. I ④
asked him where he was going and he answered that he was not
sent by the Alcalde but would accompany me voluntarily in
my pursuit of the Indians. Together we followed the direc-
tion which they took over broken country, going up and down
hills, crossing arroyos and descending landslides, and
going through dense woods. Thinking that Parra could not
follow very long on such a weak horse, I told him to take
a well-fed one that was near, and in fact he took it along,
but did not mount it. I think he was better content on
his old horse...It was getting dark when we came to an arroyo
where the tracks of the horses broadened out and it seemed
as if the thieves had added several others to the party at
that point. Seeing that we could no longer follow them be-
cause of the darkness, I resolved to take some rest and
refreshment. Therefore I dismounted and took some food from
my saddle-bag, offering some to Parra, but he did not want ⑤

to take it, saying that he was not hungry. He did not (5) even want to dismount, thinking perhaps that the Indians who were not very far away, might have seen us and would return to attack us. I was well entertained enjoying my supper, when I heard the noise of horses in the direction opposite to that taken by the Indian thieves, and Parra, terribly frightened said 'Here come the Indians'. I protested 'how can they be when they are on the other side and those who are coming wear spurs?'. Parra seemed to be calmed by this reasoning. Soon Manuel Peña and Pedro Mesa, two neighbors and herders of cattle at San José, came galloping up. (6)

Knowing that I had come in pursuit of the Indians they decided to join me in order to recover their stolen property. We all followed the direction of the tracks until twelve that night, when because it was so dark and the road so bad we determined to rest again and sleep a little. All dismounted and tied their beasts so as to have them handy in any event. Parra tied his horse (not the old weak one) by a bundle of grass. The night was very cold. Manuel Peña asked permission to make a light and smoke, and I objected saying that the Indians could discover us by the spark made by the flint, but he was so insistent that I finally consented, although with great reluctance. As Peña (7) had no flint, he took out an immense knife striking it against a stone so as to make large sparks that burst forth on every side so that we could see a considerable distance in the darkness of the night; but he could not take the tinder.

I was very angry and said 'it would have been a good thing if you had pricked your finger'. I had no sooner said this than Peña cried out, saying that he had cut his finger and that he had no light. Then old Parra said he could get a light with his gun, which had a very large flint muzzle and was of an old make. I opposed it saying that it would be very easy for the enemy to discover us by the noise of the detonation, but Parra replied that he could do it without noise and I consented that he do it with this amendment. Parra took out the ammunition with which his gun was loaded, leaving only the wadding. He then heaped up some dry grass and so prepared, aimed, turned his head, and shot. As we were in a canyon the detonation was very heavy in spite in spite of all the precautions which the old man had taken; the noise deafened us and was repeated in echo after echo, until it seemed as if the mountains were coming down on top of us. At the same time the straw caught and shed a vivid light. This was an end of my patience. Furious against Parra, I told him that he did not merit being a soldier of the king; that he was a fool and with his folly had betrayed us to the Indians, who if they did not attack us, would get out of the way of our pursuit. As all were cold they did not want to extinguish the light. Peevish at such disobedience and fearing that the Indians had escaped, I retired to rest, leaving the

others around the fire, and as I was very tired, I was soon asleep. At the break of day I arose and ordered the march and we started. I warned my companions that we would have to hurry if we overtook the thieves and so we traveled rapidly that day and the following night, although the country presented many difficulties. Often we lost the tracks, but found them again and went on. Finally in a place called ^{water hole} Aguage del Cerro Colorado, near the San Joaquin River, about 8 leagues from San José, in very rough country we camp up with the enemy, 18 in number, who were at the foot of the hill at the water-hole occupied in getting breakfast. Assured that they had not perceived me, I returned to where my companions were and told them that there were the Indians.

that there were 18 of them and they had about 280 head of horses; that I was going to get into a position where I could command them and 'make believe soldiers', that is to make it seem as if we had many people and so frighten them that they would fly, leaving the horses; that they were to go in different paths, making a great noise when they were near the Indians, calling out to their companions as if they had remained behind. And so we proceeded to do. I on my part, rode my horse on a chemisel thicket which was on a hill that overlooked the country where the savages were, and from there began to shout as if I were commanding an army: 'Forty in the rear; fifty attack them from the arroyo, the rest cut off their retreat, while we enter on this side.'

Some of the Indians hearing this, started to run, abandoning their arms; others more valient seized theirs and watched us steadfastly. Seeing this I cried out to my companions to attack them fearlessly, and in fact gentiles and Christians entered upon a bloody combat, the remainder of the former that were able to escape finally fleeing. Of the 18, 8 were stretched on the field of battle and the others escaped, some being wounded. After the battle, we collected all the horses, and returned to the pueblo, without troubling to bury the bodies of the dead. This was the first sally that was made against Indian horse thieves in the jurisdiction of San J^o sé." 12

Two months after this Indian thieves robbed my poultry yard. As soon as I found it out I went to the pueblo in search of people to help me in pursuing them. José de Jesús Mesa, Francisco Altamira^{na} and his brother Rafael offered themselves willingly for the task. Soon we were ready and set out from the pueblo properly mounted and equipped and with the necessary provisions. I, in my position of Juez de Campo, and owner of the stolen property, was the leader of the expedition and marched at the head of it in following the trail of the gentiles. We set out from the pueblo at two o'clock in the afternoon and at eight the next morning overtook the savages in the hills of the Cerro Colorado, which is opposite 13

the Sierra. We surprised them at breakfast and before they had time to see us attacked them on different sides at the same time. Before they had time to take their arms, we had accounted for four, out of the six in all. The other two yielded to us. I took one prisoner and José de Jesús Mesa, the other. After we had rested from the fatigue of the attack I commanded my companions to tie them hand and foot and stretch them out face up. They did so. My soldiers, ignorant of my intentions, indicated that they would be glad to take them to the pueblo and deliver them into the hands of the Alcalde for punishment; but I opposed this, saying that I had reserved an other and better punishment for them. In fact, taking out my dagger, I went to where the prisoners were tied, who seeing me in this fashion, guessed perhaps the intentions that I had, for they began to beg me to spare their lives, but seeing that it was of no avail, they plied me with the most disgusting insults. Then I hurled my dagger at one of them, in spite of the desperate struggles which he made, I dug out his eyes with the point of my dagger and then ordered that he be set free in that desolate mountain. The Indian, although blind, ran uncertainly to enter the wood, when he found he was free, uttering heart-rending shrieks. It did not turn out to be right about this savage in thinking that he would probably die of hunger in the solitude. Afterward I ordered that the other one be well secured, who was dead with fright, thinking perhaps that he was

to fare the same as his companion, and as among them all they fastened him so that he could make no movement, I took away his breech-cloth and with a thin cord fastened the testicles as is sometimes done in the operation of castration and cut them off with the same dagger which served before. During this operation the suffering one roared with rage cursing us and threatening us with the same punishment, if we should ever fall into his power. When he had calmed down, I ordered him untied, and as he moved off slowly step by step, I took my rifle and without intention of hitting him, fired it. Such was his fright that in spite of the pain which he must have felt, he went off at all speed. We returned to the pueblo with the booty. . .

①6

①7

Some two years afterward, when attacking a rancheria of Indian horse thieves I saw a very fat Indian, who perhaps recognized me for immediately he was lost as if the earth had swallowed him, but not too soon for me to have recognized in him the Indian whom I had castrated two years previous. This rancheria was called Chauchil and was about 15 leagues away from the site of the incident. "

Two weeks after this second campaign, I made ready another expedition against gentiles of the rancheria Jollima, commanded by a chief of the same name, who with his people had fallen on some little neighboring ranches and had taken away about 60 beasts. I organized this

①8

expedition with 10 men well armed and equipped, whose
names I do not remember except those of Francisco Alti-
mirano and Rafael, his brother, who were very courageous
men and fond of fighting the Indians and who always fol-
lowed me in the campaigns which I made against them. To
reach the rancheria we were on the road two days from the
pueblo of San José. About 8 in the morning we attacked
them. The tribe was composed of about 200, (warriors,
women, old people, and children). Although so greatly
outnumbered, we had considerable advantage over them in
the superiority of our arms and succeeded in taking away
the horses and desolating the rancheria, but not without
great resistance. After some hours of very bloody combat,
the gentiles fled leaving 15 dead on the field, one Chris-
tian prisoner named Pedro and all their booty. On our
side there were more or less gravely wounded Ignacio,
Acedo, Francisco and Rafael Altimirano, another whose name
I do not remember and I, who had a big arrow wound in the
ribs on the left side, the point of the arrow reaching the
region of the heart. The pain from this wound was so
great that I could not move from one side to another..

Then I was informed that the Indians knew an herb
that was very good for all kinds of wounds, and that one
of our prisoners could cure me and my companions. I sent
for him and told him that if he would cure us, he should
not only be set entirely free, but should have a present
of the best horse we had. He promised to do so, but

before letting him go to hunt for the 'herb of the wound' (20)
I told one of the men who was not wounded to take his
rifle and accompany the Indian and if he attempted to es-
cape to kill him. The Indian who understood enough
Spanish, laughed on hearing these words, and said that he
never would go to his people, that they would kill him
when they knew that he had cured one of us. After a
little time they returned the Indian bringing in his hand (21)
the herb previously spoken^{of}. I wanted him to cure me
there, but he indicated that it would be better to go
down the mountain and camp in a place where there was
water. I gave the order to march, and step by step we
took our way, the wounded attacked by fever and violent
thirst. When we got there, we all asked for water, but
our doctor showed us that we would die if we took it, and
made us, after resting some hours take some draughts of
atole of pinole which he himself made. Then he pro-
ceeded to the cure, beginning on me as I was the chief,
and most seriously wounded. For this he gave me the
'herb of the wound' to chew and made me swallow the juice.
Then he chewed it also and applying his mouth to the
opening of the wound, forced the juice into it. Then
he went on to suck it to remove the coagulated blood; when
he filled his mouth, he spit it out and began again, keep-
ing at it until he thought the inside of the wound was

thoroughly cleaned. Then with much dexterity he removed the piece of arrow embedded and made me chew more herb and swallow the juice and washed the wound interiorly with it and put the chewed herb on the outside edges. In much the same manner he cured the other wounded men. He kept us there six days on a rigorous diet, and watched us carefully, until at the end of this time, I felt well and consulting the other wounded men, found that they felt the same, and gave the order to march. On going away I told the Indian that I would keep my word with him, to take his horse and go away, and if we came upon him again we would not harm him. But he answered that he would remain with the horse and would not go away, for there was no rancharia where he could go that would not know he had cured a white man and would kill him. So he accompanied us to the Mission and stayed there, disputing with me about the horse which I did not wish to take back. This Indian served me faithfully for six years, sowing seeds, gathering maize and doing other work in the fields, without receiving any recompense other than the seeds which were necessary for his subsistence. When I gave him money he did not want to take it, alleging that he was sufficiently paid in that I had saved his life. Finally in an attack which was made against the celebrated bandit, Yóscolo, poor Pedro, who was so faithful to me, was killed by an arrow that

(22)

(23)

(24)

pierced his heart, and when they brought him to the mission they told me that he had been killed by Yóscolo's men, but I had good reason to believe that it was one of his relatives who embraced this opportunity to punish him for having cured us. It is customary among the Indians to regard as a traitor any Indian who has rendered any service to their eternal enemy the white people, although forced to do so, and his relatives even believe themselves under obligation to kill him if the opportunity presents itself."

José Francisco Palomares, Memoria, pp. 2-24, MS, Bancroft Library, 1877.

Translated by SLR.Clemence

J. F. Palomas - against Atlatanes
Indians

MASSACRE BY BURNING OF ATALANES TEMESCAL

^{during this time} Lieut. José Francisco Palomares, (an early resident of San José, who held the office of Juez de Campo 1833-39) in Memoria given to the Bancroft Library tells of an expedition which he led against horse-thieves of the tribe of Atalanes, which resulted in the burning of a temescal of about 70 of the Atalanes tribe.

One time the Indians of the tribe of Atalanes surprised the ranches near the pueblo of San José, taking away a large number of stolen beasts and fleeing with all haste to their villages. The Alcalde, who was then Ignacio Peralte, when he heard of this, sent for me and ordered me together with 9 men whom he assigned me, to pursue them to their hiding place, authorizing me to exterminate them wherever I found them. I do not remember the names of all the soldiers, I can only say that the intrepid brothers Francisco and Rafael Altamirano, the terror of the gentiles, accompanied me. As soon as the customary preparations were made, which was quickly, I ordered the march. We followed ⁽³⁹⁾ the tracks of the enemy all that night and the next day and the following night until 12 o'clock, when the scouts came to tell me that in this place was the temescal of the Indians and that they all seemed to be asleep. I immediately gave the order to surround the temescal, observing the greatest silence, and ordered that no one should move until it was light, for it did not seem advisable to me to attack the enemy, which was so well fortified, in the darkness. The Indians probably sensed us, for we heard a voice within, probably ⁽⁴⁰⁾

the chief's, say in the atalana language that 'ndone was to go out, for we must all die here'. For an hour or more we did not hear the least noise within the temescal.

A soldier named Francisco Rochin who was probably tired of having nothing to do, came to me and told me that he would engage to set fire [to the temescal if I would give him permission. I reflected for a little and in consideration of the orders given me by the Alcalde and of the fact that a fire would probably oblige the Indians to come out and present an uncovered front, I gave the permission. He went away, apparently very content, and taking a brand from

a fire which there was near by, he sought a suitable place in the temescal, and removing with great care the covering of earth on the outside, he set fire to some dry limbs that were in back. At once there was a great blaze of fire illuminating the whole country. By the light we could see what happened inside. Men, women and children were all in confusion, viewing with terrified eyes the progress that the devouring element made. At each moment [the opening made by the flames broadened, and new and affecting scenes were presented to our sight. From moment to moment the most terrible cries and shrieks ^{of pain} were heard. We believed that the Indians, forced by the fire, would come out finally. But we were mistaken, for soon we saw the temescal burning on all sides. Those that were most courageous pushed aside the fire with their own hands, defending themselves from the burning brands that fell on the ground. There was so much

smoke and noise of flames and of cries and lamentations of the dying people that we could neither see nor hear. Finally the roof fell in with a great noise, and seeing that there was nothing left to do I gave the order to march, having previously seen that the stolen horses that were in a large corral near the site of the fire, had been recovered. We returned to the pueblo without having fired a single shot or taking our guns from their places, and full of admiration for the gentiles who preferred death by fire rather than to surrender to their enemies. I cannot tell exactly the number of victims of this disaster, but I think there were about 70 of both sexes and all ages. I do not know if any were saved, but it would have been very difficult for such a thing to be. When I reported to the Alcalde that we had recovered 60 beasts ^{from the Atalanes} and the way in which those of the temescal were killed, he did nothing except to order returned to the owners the animals that belonged to them. (42)

But this did not cause the tribe to stop doing damage, on the contrary they were in the future ~~they were~~ the most revengeful and thieving, until the Americans came and exterminated ^{them} it as they did many others." (43)

José Francisco Palomares, Memoria, pp. 39-43, MS, Bancroft Library, 1877.

Rodriguez - expedition to Tulares
1828

RODRIGUEZ: EXPEDITIONS TO THE TULARES. 1828

From April to June, 1828, Sergeant Sebastian Rodriguez made 2 expeditions to the Tulare region from the Missions of San Miguel and San Juan Bautista, during which he visited several rancherias. Rodriguez's original diaries of these expeditions are in the Huntington Collection in the Bancroft Library and are herewith translated. The following rancherias are mentioned: Bubal, Carriso, Chausila, Ctache, Jeuche, Joyima, Tachi, Tulame and Yaulamen.

"Diary which I, Sergeant Sebastian Rodriguez, kept on the campaign ordered April 17, 1828.

April 20.--Set out at 4 in the afternoon and slept in Santa Ana.

April 21.--Set out from Santa Ana and slept in the arroyo called Quiensabe.

April 22.--Set out from Quiensabe and rested in the place called La Panochita, and from there set out at 6 in the afternoon for the San Joaquin River, and at one in the morning Capt. Simeon Castro found a drove of mares of those which the Indians had stolen, and in it were 3 wounded beasts. The drove was retaken, It belonged to the citizen Amelmo Romero. We could not reach the river because of the mire, which the Zanjon de Santa Rita, about half a league before arriving at the river, I believe about 3 in the morning.

April 23.--I looked for a place to cross the Zanjon and crossed with some work, a pack falling into the mud. Reached the river at 10 o'clock, found it swollen. Three rafts were constructed and all that day passed with no hindrance other than the upsetting of one raft loaded with my saddle and arms, which got all wet, as well as those of some soldiers, but nothing was lost because the Indians were prepared, being on the other side with the horses. Slept there.

April 24.--Set out at 5 in the afternoon for the place called El Monte Redondo (Round Mountain) and arrived at daybreak of the 25th without having lost the guides. On the same day set out for the place called El Potrero, arrived at 11 at night, and remained there until the soldier Norberto Garcia should return whom I had sent to investigate the rancheria of the Joyimas which is where they have eaten the horses. Said Garcia returned about 2 in the morning, and I immediately set out, leaving Capt. Jose Abila with 4 men and 4 Indian aids to take care of the horses and provisions. . About an eighth of a league before crossing the river I sent Capt. Simeon Castro with 10 soldiers and 19 Indian aids to cross to the N of the river while I remained on the S side. Only 5 men on horseback could cross with Capt. Simeon because it was very miry, and we went on toward the rancheria which is between two arms of the river in a forest of much willow, very difficult travelling. The party that went on the S side all fell before reaching the rancheria in some little tules where the land is very miry. Capt. Simeon approached to within about 60 varas [=165 feet] from the rancheria, and at the neigh of a horse about 200 Indians discovered him and immediately took up their arms and discharged their arrows. Seeing this Simeon fired and

killed 2 gentiles. The party from the S entered, some on foot and some on horseback, killed 3 gentiles and caught 8 men and 7 women and several boys and girls, in all 26, and seized 27 beasts from the government herds of which for three days they had been eating the meat, having shot 8. In the neighboring forest there were 60 to 80 more beasts. According to information immediately given by a gentile chief of the rancheria of Ctache, who came to the Joyimas to eat horse-meat, there was another rancheria farther up which had horses. I at once ordered Capt. Simeon Castro to go to this rancheria, the soldier Jose Bermudes and I remaining to take care of the prisoners, since we were both wet to the waist. Capt. Simeon found no people in the rancheria and only saw one departing on horseback up the mountain. Capt. Simeon withdrew to another rancheria which was about 2 leagues away, and found no people, but found much horse-meat and the tracks of the people who had buried themselves in the mountains. As soon as they rejoined us, I ordered all the meat that there was to be burned, not leaving a quarter of meat to eat, and when the wet men had dried out, I withdrew to camp which I reached about one in the afternoon. The meat of the other two rancherias was not burned, and there must have been about 100 dead beasts. These

three rancherias are the same as that of the Joimas. It was divided when the horses arrived in order to eat with less fear of detection. Among the Indians which were caught, there was one Christian from La Soledad and another from San Juan with a little boy who was also a Christian.

April 27.--I set out at one in the morning to follow those who fled into the mountains and went about 8 leagues into the mountains where they were accustomed to locate when they fled, and not having found anyone, the guide who was one of our prisoners, told me that they must be farther back, and I went where the guide told me and two women were seen, who were immediately caught and told where the people were. The soldiers, whose horses were very tired, went and caught 5 men, 19 women and 13 children. The interpreter with 5 Christian aids lost me and arrived at the rancheria, where the dead were, and found 8 men and among them 2 chiefs. They immediately set out to stop him with their arms, and he caught one chief, a Christian of San Juan, and one gentile and 3 women. The troop stopped the people who fled from getting out of the mountain and caught them. Among them there was a Christian from San Juan Mission and two horse-thieves--gentiles called Selli and Salmi. As soon as they were all reunited, I withdrew to the camp and reached there at 7 at night.

April 28.--The people rested.

April 29.--I set out for the ranheria called Jeuche at 2 in the morning and found no people because they had fled the day before into the mountains about 7 leagues, as their trail showed. In some very rocky cliffs we found two Christian men and Christian women all three from the Mission of San Juan, one gentile and 5 women and 2 girls, making 11 in all. I withdrew to the camp where I arrived at 7 at night. All these ranherias had been warned by Christians from the Mission of San Juan who came to tell them that the soldiers were coming and arrived there a day before I did, and I found nothing more than in that of the Joimas. I immediately took to the mountains toward the north searching in all the places where they had eaten horses. This Christian was called Delfino as the gentiles said.

April 30.--I sent Capt. Simeon with 17 men of the troop and 16 Indian aids to the ranheria of Chausila to see if they could catch any Christians or gentiles, because they also are eaters of horses. I went with the prisoners to the place called La Posa de Blas to see if we could catch some elk with which to feed the prisoners, and the other people because we had just finished the food and with the prisoners and all there were about 142 people. Today in the afternoon they caught some antelope and killed a mare and with this

fed the prisoners.

May 1.--At 8 o'clock tonight I joined Capt. Simeon. He could not find any Indians in the mountain of Chausila, all had withdrawn far into the mountains and had left only a wornout horse.

May 2.--I set out for San Joaquin River and found it greatly swollen with much water in the tule, and very miry, so that some of the packs fell off in crossing.

May 3.--After reciting the rosary we began to cross on rafts finishing at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and went to sleep at the point of the Zanjon of Santa Rita. We started out to sleep at the place called Panochita. The fourth day we rested here so that the soldiers might catch elk for the people to eat, and on the fifth day we went to sleep at the place called the Corral of Joaquin Soto.

May 6.--Set out at 5 in the morning and arrived at the Mission of San Juan at 6 in the afternoon bringing 82 beasts which they took from the rancheria of Joyima and 85 Indians.

[Signed] Sebastian Rodriguez

Mission of San Juan Bautista,
May 6, 1828.

"Diary kept by Sergeant Sebastian Rodriguez from May 26 of this year [1828] in which I set out under orders from your Excellency on an expedition to the Tular by the road of San Miguel.

This same day set out from said Mission toward the Tular and slept in a place called Agua Dulce.

May 27.--Set out from this place and slept in La Panza.

May 28.--Set out from La Pansa and at daybreak of the 29th reached the lake of Buena Vista, in the rancheria called Tulame. I found all the people in the tular because they had been warned by the overseers from San Miguel Mission. After we had been about an hour in the ruins of the rancheria the chief came on a raft and when he landed was asked about his people. He told me that they were all afraid because they had been told the soldiers were going to kill them. Two soldiers, Gabriel de la Torre and Juan Butron, asked me to give them permission to go into the tular and bring out the Indians. I gave them permission and they did so, some others entering with them and brought out a few people. As soon as they were without, I charged the chief with the horses that he had at his home because many tracks had been found. He told me that they had crossed to the east of the lake and after about 3 hours I saw two men on horseback who were running away. I immediately sent the chief of the rancheria Tachi who was going with me as an aid

from San Miguel, to catch the two who were going on horse-back. He immediately went after them and caught 2 and brought them to me. They were from the same rancheria where I was. The soldiers asked permission to cross to the other side of the lake to catch the horses that they had left, and I told them to go. Five immediately volunteered and with cartridges in belts and swords in hand, they crossed on horse-back. They caught the 2 horses which had been seen, and others. As soon as they came where I was I asked the chief where the 6 Christians were who were in his rancheria and he answered that they were all in the tule. Then I took him prisoner with all his people, although they were few, until they should deliver to me the Christians. And while they were prisoners a youth told me that in the mountains of Santa Barbara there was a rancheria which had horses and saddles and that there were few people and that he would go to show it to me. As soon as it was night 15 men set out leaving Capt. Brijido with 8 soldiers in charge of the horses and provisions. I arrived at the rancheria at daybreak of the 30th, and caught them all together. As soon as they began to flee from their huts, the chief presented me with a paper from the minister of La Purisima, stating he was authorized to gather the horses which

belonged to this Mission. When I arrived with 4 soldiers and 2 Indians, I ordered them to capture the horses, and they brought me 20 beasts,--5 mules, 3 mares, and 12 horses, from all owners. They had 8 saddles and 3 hides. I asked the chief about the hides and saddles--from where he had obtained them,-- and he told me that Patricio, the alcalde of this Mission, had given them for elk which they had caught and whose hides they had taken to the Mission. I asked him about the cattle hides and he told me that he had brought them from the Mission--something which I could not believe, because the herd ranges from the Mission of San Miguel to the Sierra of Santa Barbara and is very near this rancheria. I took away the horses, saddles . . . and at about 8 o'clock in the morning I withdrew. At the Rancho of San Emigdio I found a gentile Indian called Francisco and some old women who were taking care of his cornfield. He delivered 4 horses to me and told me that he had delivered 50 more to Sergeant Salasar who had turned them over to the Commander at Santa Barbara. He told me he would go to show me a rancheria where there were many horses. This rancheria was called Carriso. There they delivered some beasts to me, and informed me that the day before a Migueleno had passed with his companions who had given them news of the soldiers. I went on all this night and the

next day till about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, but could not catch him because he had withdrawn to the Sierra San Fernando. I returned to where my horses were and reached there about 1 o'clock in the morning. Capt. Brijido informed me that the chief of Buena Vista had delivered 4 Christians to him. The chief told him that on June 2 at daybreak he would bring me the 2 Christians who were missing, if when he brought them, he and all his people should be free, which was done the next day. At about 10 o'clock of the same day, the chief of the Yaulamene rancheria brought me 12 horses because he knew that the soldiers were going in search of horses. I asked him for the Christians that were in his house and he said that they were there. I told him to bring them out to me and he said that he could not, that I must give him soldiers to cross to the other side and that he would deliver them to them. I ordered the chiefs Villa and Rodriguez with 14 men to cross to the other side of the lake to take away the 6 men that this chief had. In crossing the lake 3 horses belonging to the soldiers Fernando Felix, Vitorino, Martinez and Francisco Soto were drowned. As soon as the soldiers arrived at the rancheria of Yaulamen, the chief delivered the Christians.

At 11 o'clock on the fourth day the Captains arrived

where I was and I immediately set the gentiles free.

June 5.--After the rosary I set out for the rancheria of Bubal. I arrived there on the 6th at about 11 o'clock. After I had been there about an hour or an hour and a half, I told the chief that he must present all his people to me and deliver the 16 Christians that there were in his rancheria. He told me that they had all gone into the tular. I bound 9 gentiles and told the chief that I would not let them go free until he delivered the Christians to me, and that I was going to San Miguel and to catch 11 more that were on the way and to take them all to the presidio. In the afternoon they brought me 2 Christians. I could not cross on the eighth day because the horses were dying from thirst. Then some soldiers gave the horses water in baskets. On the eighth day I set out from Bubal and slept in Los Alamos at a place called Nido or Aura. The ninth day I set out at about 5 o'clock in the morning and reached San Miguel at about 6 in the afternoon. On the journey from Buena Vista to Bubal 10 horses of the number that were caught in the tular were exhausted and I delivered to the Father Juan Cabot to be delivered to the Commander Don Jose Estrada 47 beasts, from the Missions of San Luis, Purisima, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, San Fernando and San Gabriel. All the Indians which I brought to the presidio numbered 31 including gentiles and Christians.

Port of Monterey
June 22, 1828

[Signed] Sebastian Rodriguez

J. A. Sanchez - campaign against Estanislao
1829

SANCHEZ'S ACCOUNT OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST ESTANISLAO, 1829

José Antonio Sanchez gives the following account of the campaign that he led against the Indians commanded by Estanislao in 1829, in a letter to the Commander, Ignacio Martinez, dated San José, May 10, 1829.

"It is 7 o'clock in the evening and I have just arrived [15
at this Mission of San José on my return from the campaign that you entrusted to me for the purpose of surprising the Christian Indians of the missions of Santa Clara and San José, who had revolted, and allying themselves with their people, had gathered their forces at the river of the Laquisimes. In the shelter of an im- [16
penetrable wood whose description it would be very difficult for me to attempt; the more not to delay giving the termination of this campaign, the events and casualties of which I report briefly to you for your understanding and intelligence.

At 7 in the morning we approached the river which the forces of the conspiring Christians were in possession of, and as we were perceived by them before our arrival, they were all ready to attack us -- of which they gave proof, sheltered by the wood, the minute we appeared. Observing this I ordered up a swivel-gun, keeping the troops in close formation, and ordered them to fire

immediately with this piece. We had the misfortune at [16
the first shot to break the gunstock, but in spite of
this we gave them two more shots, rendering the thing
useless; then we began to shoot with carbines. We kept
up this firing for some time but without their ceasing
to answer with a multitude of arrows and also with fire-
arms which seemed loaded with powder only, because they
did no damage; I therefore knew that they had no balls.
However seeing that the sun was too low for me to expose [17
myself within the wood with the troops, I retired to
a distance of about 1000 paces from where the rabble
held possession of the wood and would not leave it.
While I was camped there with all my troops without in-
cident save weariness and fatigue from excessive heat,
and the breaking of the swivel-gun of which I have spoken --
there came to us, always keeping himself in the shelter
of the wood, one of the conspiring Christian chiefs
named Estanislao, to talk with the Indians aides who
came with me on this march. Seeing that he was approach-
ing I went forward and called to him from a distance.
Another Indian followed him hidden by the wood and fired
a shot at me, and then they both retired and there was
no more noise heard throughout the night which passed
without incident. At daybreak the next day the troops
formed, divided into 6 parties of 6 men, each with its
chief, with instructions which seemed best to me: one

party to care for the horses and ammunition; 3 to [17
enter the wood; and the remaining 2 to guard the right
and left flanks at the same time preventing the enemy
from succeeding on any side at the time of the attack
in the same wood, without betraying at the first induce-
ment what they intended to do at the last extremity if
the worst happened; verifying this with the precaution
that the present situation required.

I separated myself from the troops, taking only the
interpreter, for the purpose of treating with the in-
surrectionists to see if by this means they would recon-
sider and give themselves up. But my exhortation had no
effect, for only Estanislao, the head chief whom I have
already mentioned, answered me saying that he was not
guilty, but that he was well aware of how they had to
defend themselves, and consequently would die hard.
Then I spoke with the gentile chiefs making them under-
stand that the troops were disposed to enter the wood
and that they should escape the danger of what would re-
sult if they were obstinate, and so they should separate
themselves from the Christians; but they did not follow
the advice and remained united with the Christians.

In view of all this I immediately ordered the troops
to advance into the wood and fire at them and engage
in battle. The advance would have gone favorable on our
side but for the imprudence of 4 soldiers, who without
any precaution separated themselves from the party

commanded by Capt. Lazaro Piña. In spite of the fact [19] that he wanted to restrain them they did not obey him and penetrated the wood to get to the river to drink. Without doubt because of their heedlessness, they met the enemy with the result that 2 of them were left on the spot badly wounded. Captain Piña left with only 2 soldiers, joined the party under Capt. José Berreyesa at the same time that an Indian auxiliary arrived with the news that the 4 soldiers were alone and in danger. I immediately ordered Captain Berreyesa and Captain Piña to follow with a party to search for the soldiers; and they returned with only 2 soldiers whom they found, shot and badly wounded, one without firearms and the other with, but unable to use them because they had no ammunition, and the enemy were in the act of finishing them up by killing them, when the party cited arrived and with their arrival those taking part in the slaughter fled. The 2 wounded were taken amid a shower of arrows. These 2 who were of the 4 who separated themselves from Captain Piña said that their two companions were killed and in the power of the enemy, and the Indian auxiliaries confirmed their statement adding that they stripped their bodies and threw them [19] into the stream that ran through the wood.

Convinced that it was impossible to rescue the bodies, first because our ammunition was consumed

and second because it was late in the afternoon , and [20 the troops weary from fighting on foot through an almost impenetrable wood, and from the excessive heat, with 2 soldiers killed and 8 wounded, 3 of them seriously, and 11 of the aides wounded and 1 killed also, the equipment entirely useless, 3 guns lost, 2 of them with their leather straps -- I decided to retire and withdrew with the troops and Indian auxiliaries to the same place as the previous day where the horses were, that all might have some refreshment, which was done.

They killed a large number of the enemy although I could not ascertain the number because of the impossibility of penetrating the wood."

[Sanchez goes on to commend his troops for their valor, mentioning particularly Capt. Antonio Soto and the soldiers Manuel Penas and Lorenzo Pacheco.]

José Antonio Sanchez, Campaign against Estanislao, 1829
Bancroft Library copy of State Papers, Tom 21, Missions
and Colonization, pp. 15 - 20 (pp. 37 - 44 of original
MS).

SANCHEZ DIARY OF HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST ESTANISLAO, 1829

The following is a translation of José Sanchez's diary of the campaign which he led against the Indians under the noted chief Estanislao in 1829, from the original manuscript in the Huntington Collection of the Bancroft Library:

May 1. - I set out from the Presidio with a captain and 8 soldiers of cavalry and a captain and 2 soldiers of artillery taking with them two arrobas [≈50 pounds] of powder and a thousand balls. Today we traveled as far as Santa Clara Mission where we arrived at 8 o'clock at night and passed the remainder of the night without event.

May 2 - I set out with the same force of troops for the Mission of San José, leaving there those named who were to set out to join me as soon as they saw those from the mission of Santa Cruz. And at the same time having asked the aid of the Alcalde and Captain of Militia, they were notified that according to the time they had started they would meet them on the third. We arrived at the mission at about 11 A.M. and immediately set ourselves at the task of preparing cartridges.

May 3 - Today Capt. Lazaro Pina with the two artillerymen took the cartridges; and the captain of the guard of Santa Clara joined the party together with 6 soldiers of the guard and two from the mission of Santa Cruz, 7 militiamen, and 5 citizens, of whom 5 citizens and a militiaman returned because they had no horses on which to travel, so there remained 6 militiamen.

May 4. - I marched with 25 men of the cavalry, a captain and 2 artillery veterans, 6 militia-men, and 70 Indian aids as far as the place called Las Pocitas del Valle, where 6 head of cattle were killed for the troop and Indians, and we passed the night without event.

May 5. - At daybreak I ordered a captain with 8 men to set out for the crossing of the San Joaquin River to note if any of the insurgents came to watch and to see if the capturing of them was succeeding, because they gave no news. At 9 A.M. I set out with the other troops and traveled until 7 that night, when we arrived a little below the Laguna del Blanco which is a little below the crossing of San Joaquin River, where we rejoined those who had set out before, and passed the night without event.

May 6. - In the morning the same Captain with 8 men and Indian aids set out for the crossing where they were to make rafts and to note if any came to watch. At 8 I set out with the party and at about 10 we began to cross over and this done we stayed there the remainder of the day, in order not to be seen by any who might be passing there, until 6 in the afternoon when we started and traveled all night until daybreak.

May 7. - A little before daybreak, when the guide said that we were already near, I ordered 4 of the aids to explore and seeing that daylight was approaching I undertook the march and after a little I met the scouts who said that the insurgents were in the

same place, at which I immediately ordered that 3 divisions be formed, one to remain in charge of the beasts and of the other stores, and another for the outside to search for the river of the Laquisimes which runs through the middle of the forest where the rebels are, and the other to the foot of the range. Putting myself at the head of the last division, I went through the forest until we came to the river, whose crossing prevented us from going on, where we were when we heard the cry on the other side of the river and some gun-shots, at which I ordered a return by the same road or direction to look for the horses which remained at about three-quarters of a league's distance from us. From there we pursued our course up the river in search of a crossing which we were to find in about a league, and in about a quarter of a league of the return down the river we came up with our companions who were shooting with the insurgents, but the latter always kept in the shelter in the forest. I immediately ordered the little cannon to be taken out and to be fired at those who were approaching the shore, after exhortations had been made to them, of which they showed no appreciation but began making threats. At the first shot a wheel broke and so they fired two others, and the Captain of the artillery having made certain that the first was useless, I ordered them to withdraw it and to fire only with the carbines, and observing that they did little or no damage to the enemy and that the day was passing and the troops had not broken fast, I ordered the retreat to encamp myself. At some thousand varas [=2750 feet] from where the rancheria was I made camp, to which

the Chief Estanislao came through the forest, talking with the Christians on the other side of the river, and having seen that he was talking I set out for the edge of the forest telling him that if he would come with me, nothing should be done to him. While we were talking, another one called Sabulon came and fired a shot from the forest, and they immediately retreated and did not return again. And we remained there the rest of the day and all night without event.

May 8 - As soon as it was daybreak I ordered the troops to form in 6 divisions: one of 6 men to look out for the beasts and other stores; three to enter the forest, each composed of a captain and 6 soldiers, well warned that no one was to separate himself from his division, and that when they were within, the three should manage to reunite, and if anyone was going on ahead of the others, he should wait; that all formed in flanks that they should advance on the enemy conformably, that they were not to shoot from one and another site; that they always manage to go together, with the aids at their backs to prevent the enemy from harming them in the rear; and the two others by the flanks of the forest in order to prevent the enemy from flight by one of them when they were attacked from within the forest, and warned that all must obey the captains who led them, although without one for the whole body, in order that in this way they might keep the best order. The troop being prepared to enter the forest, I put myself at the head and at about 8 varas

[= 22 feet] from the rancheria, I ordered a halt to see if it was necessary to shed blood. And I went on approaching as close as possible, making them understand through the interpreter that the troop was going to enter the forest and that those that wanted to escape from being killed must come with me and that I would not kill them; that they ought to understand that they were Christians and ought to be in their mission. To these exhortations Estanislao made answer that he was not at fault in what he had done, that he had some one to advise him what to do and how to defend himself, and that he would always die in the forest. Then I said if there was any gentile chief, I wanted to speak with him and for him to come out. And one immediately came out to the shore to where he could see that troop that was going to enter, and I told him that unless they wanted to get into danger that they must separate themselves from the Christians, who were the ones that I was seeking in order that they might come to their mission; and that if they aided them, then I would punish them. Then this one spoke with other chiefs and 12 chiefs came out, and having spoken with all of them, they told me that they would not meddle in anything, but that they were afraid of Estanislao and Cipriano. And I told them not to be afraid and they set out and went away to their rancherias. But as the Christians also spoke to them they gave more heed to them, and they joined them again which was to me the indispensable confirmation for the entrance of the troops. About 8 in the morning I ordered the advance as it had already been ordered, each division in its appointed

place, in order to seize the fleeing ones. After three hours of shooting, an Indian aide came and told me that four of the soldiers were cut off from one of the divisions. Then I went through the forest where I heard the shooting and the first men I met were Capt. José Berryeza and Captain of Artillery, Lazaro Pina, whom I ordered to go in search of the 4 men who it was said were found alone fighting with the Indians. Verifying this immediately and alone, they returned with two of them almost killed; and one of them, Manuel Pena, reported that Ygnacio Pacheco had been killed by the Indians for he was behind them and found one of the Indians who said we wanted to kill an Indian, and at this incident turned around and already saw him fall. And he fired a shot and killed one of those who followed them, and he saw Andres Mesa jump out on one side and saw nothing more. Some of the aids immediately set out saying that they had seen one killed, stripped and thrown into the river, and that they had also seen another killed and naked within the forest and that the latter was Ygnacio Pacheco. Then all of the people being without, one of the rebels set out for the edge of the forest saying that they had already killed two soldiers. At this one of the soldiers said no, that they were mistaken, that they were not killing the soldiers, and then the Indians went down, and immediately three of them set out, one with the leather jacket, another with the shield, and another with a club, all three belonging to the soldier Mesa.

Then while I was arranging and ordering a new expedition in search of these two men who were missing, together with some aids, the soldier Dolores Pacheco spoke to me saying that all we could accomplish was to remove the two bodies already lifeless and that the troop was tired and without munitions; that from the plunder that had been taken from them they had not been left alive; that the aids that were missing had already been seen on the other shore of the river by the band we were accompanying. Captain Lazaron Pina being present described the way in which these 4 soldiers had separated themselves from the division, saying that he was with his division in the forest, and as it was so dense and as all his attention was on the enemy, he did not notice when Andres Mesa withdrew, but he did see when Manuel Pena and Lorenzo Pacheco left his side, and as he found himself now alone loading Ygnacio Pacheco's gun, he ordered them loudly not to withdraw and to come back; and that then having received message from Capt. Reyes, who was calling him, he tried to unite with him, which they then accomplished, and that from here as they were too greatly pressed by the enemy, he did not notice where Ygnacio Pacheco, Manuel Pena, and Lorenzo Pacheco had withdrawn, and these said that they were in sight of Capt. Reyes and Capt. Lazaro. An Indian aid told them that Andres Mesa remained cut off and that then without speaking to the captains they went to look for him and found him, and then all four went away to the bank of the river; and that there they drank water and were fastening their shoes, and while they were going away from there they met the mob of rebels and it was then they were lanced.

All this story they told in the camp, and afterward having looked over the munitions and inspected the arms, I found very little remained -- 6 spoiled carbines and a gun burst, 8 men of the troop wounded, and 3 of them severely, and 11 Indian aids. We had seen nothing of the enemy except the 8 dead, for it was impossible to see them in the underbrush so thick everywhere. Hence I decided to withdraw to the Mission of San José, not only because of lack of arms and munitions, but also because it was not possible to make another sally under the great difficulties mentioned.

Broke camp about 3 in the afternoon carrying three wounded, with one man across the horse, because they could only cross on horses. Traveled until about 7 which brought us about quarter of a league away from where we set out in a watering-place that there was near the river of the Laquisemes, and here we spent the night uneventfully.

We set out at about 8 in the morning and arrived at the ford of the San Joaquin River at about 2 in the afternoon and immediately began to ferry across the beasts and the rest, and having finished, we traveled as far as Laguna del Blanco which is a little below the ford, already on the land of the mission of San Jose, where we spent the night without event.

May. 10. We set out at about 7 in the morning and traveled until 6 in the afternoon when we arrived at San José Mission.

San Jose Mission, May 11, 1829.

José Sanchez.

Diario que forma el Mo. Grado. de Exto. C. José Sanchez de la Expedicion en persecucion de los Indios subleados de los Misiones de San José y Santa Clara.

Sanchez - against Estanislao . 1829

SANCHEZ'S ACCOUNT OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST ESTANISLAO, 1829

José Antonio Sanchez gives the following account of the campaign that he led against the Indians commanded by Estanislao in 1829, in a letter to the Commander, Ignacio Martinez, dated San José, May 10, 1829.

"It is 7 o'clock in the evening and I have just arrived [15] at this Mission of San José on my return from the campaign that you entrusted to me for the purpose of surprising the Christian Indians of the missions of Santa Clara and San José, who had revolted, and allying themselves with their people, had gathered their forces at the river of the Laquisimes, in the shelter of an im- [16] penetrable wood whose description it would be very difficult for me to attempt; the more not to delay giving the termination of this campaign, the events and casualties of which I report briefly to you for your understanding and intelligence.

At 7 in the morning we approached the river which the forces of the conspiring Christians were in possession of, and as we were perceived by them before our arrival, they were all ready to attack us -- of which they gave proof, sheltered by the wood, the minute we appeared. Observing this I ordered up a swivel-gun, keeping the troops in close formation, and ordered them to fire

immediately with this piece. We had the misfortune at [16
the first shot to break the gunstock, but in spite of
this we gave them two more shots, rendering the thing
useless; then we began to shoot with carbines. We kept
up this firing for some time but without their ceasing
to answer with a multitude of arrows and also with fire-
arms which seemed loaded with powder only, because they
did no damage; I therefore knew that they had no balls.
However seeing that the sun was too low for me to expose [17
myself within the wood with the troops, I retired to
a distance of about 1000 paces from where the rabble
held possession of the wood and would not leave it.
While I was camped there with all my troops without in-
cident save weariness and fatigue from excessive heat,
and the breaking of the swivel-gun of which I have spoken --
there came to us, always keeping himself in the shelter
of the wood, one of the conspiring Christian chiefs
named Estanislao, to talk with the Indians aides who
came with me on this march, Seeing that he was approach-
ing I went forward and called to him from a distance.
Another Indian followed him hidden by the wood and fired
a shot at me, and then they both retired and there was
no more noise heard throughout the night which passed
without incident. At daybreak the next day the troops
formed, divided into 6 parties of 6 men, each with its
chief, with instructions which seemed best to me: one

party to care for the horses and ammunition; 3 to [17
enter the wood; and the remaining 2 to guard the right
and left flanks at the same time preventing the enemy
from succeeding on any side at the time of the attack
in the same wood, without betraying at the first induce-
ment what they intended to do at the last extremity if
the worst happened; verifying this with the precaution
that the present situation required. .

I separated myself from the troops, taking only the
interpreter, for the purpose of treating with the in-
surrectionists to see if by this means they would recon-
sider and give themselves up. But my exhortation had no
effect, for only Estanislao, the head chief whom I have
already mentioned, answered me saying that he was not
guilty, but that he was well aware of how they had to
defend themselves, and consequently would die hard.
Then I spoke with the gentile chiefs making them under-
stand that the troops were disposed to enter the wood
and that they should escape the danger of what would re-
sult if they were obstinate, and so they should separate
themselves from the Christians; but they did not follow
the advice and remained united with the Christians.

In view of all this I immediately ordered the troops
to advance into the wood and fire at them and engage
in battle. The advance would have gone favorable on our
side but for the imprudence of 4 soldiers, who without
any precaution separated themselves from the party

commanded by Capt. Lazaro Piña. In spite of the fact [19] that he wanted to restrain them they did not obey him and penetrated the wood to get to the river to drink. Without doubt because of their heedlessness they met the enemy with the result that 2 of them were left on the spot badly wounded. Captain Piña left with only 2 soldiers, joined the party under Capt. José Berreyesa at the same time that an Indian auxiliary arrived with the news that the 4 soldiers were alone and in danger. I immediately ordered Captain Berreyesa and Captain Piña to follow with a party to search for the soldiers, and so they returned with only 2 soldiers whom they found, shot and badly wounded, one without firearms and the other with, but unable to use them because they had no ammunition, and the enemy were in the act of finishing them up by killing them, when the party cited arrived and with their arrival those taking part in the slaughter fled. The 2 wounded were taken amid a shower of arrows. These 2 who were of the 4 who separated themselves from Captain Piña said that their two companions were killed and in the power of the enemy, and the Indian auxiliaries confirmed their statement adding that they stripped their bodies and threw them [19] into the stream that ran through the wood.

Convinced that it was impossible to rescue the bodies, first because our ammunition was consumed

and second because it was late in the afternoon , and [20 the troops weary from fighting on foot through an almost impenetrable wood, and from the excessive heat; with 2 soldiers killed and 8 wounded, 3 of them seriously, and 11 of the aides wounded and 1 killed also, the equipment entirely useless, 3 guns lost, 2 of them with their leather straps -- I decided to retire and withdrew with the troops and Indian auxiliaries to the same place as the previous day where the horses were, that all might have some refreshment, which was done.

They killed a large number of the enemy although I could not ascertain the number because of the impossibility of penetrating the wood."

[Sanchez goes on to commend his troops for their valor, mentioning particularly Capt. Antonio Soto and the soldiers Manuel Penas and Lorenzo Pacheco.]

José Antonio Sanchez, Campaign against Estanislao, 1829
Bancroft Library copy of State Papers, Tom 2, Missions
and Colonization, pp. 15 - 20 (pp. 37 - 44 of original
MS).

Sanchez against Sac R. Indians 1826

SANCHEZ CAMPAIGN AGAINST SACRAMENTO RIVER INDIANS 1826

A. Duhaut-Cilly, Commander of a French ship trading along the California coast Oct. 1826-July 1828, published (1835) a 2-volume book on his trading experiences in different parts of the globe, over half of which he devotes to the Californias.

Under date of August 1827 he writes as follows of an expedition led by Sanchez against the Indians of the Sacramento River in 1826.--

"The Spanish Governor has always followed the atrocious system of ordering, from time to time, expeditions against the people of the interior, sometimes to recapture Indians escaped from the Missions, and again to keep the Gentiles away by inspiring them with terror--expeditions, which, costing the lives of a few soldiers and many of the natives, served only to keep up hatred. The last and most ridiculous of these little campaigns was made in 1826 under the command of Alferez // (sub- [107] lieutenant) Sanchez, and was as follows: [108]

After the harvest the Padre of San Francisco Solano had permitted 80 of his Christian Indians to go on a visit to their former homes, and they were ascending the San-Sacramento River in a large sloop, when the Savages unexpectedly attacked them in a tight place

where they could neither flee nor defend themselves, and killed more than 40 of them. Consequently a raid was ordered and entrusted to the seething courage of Sanchez, who advanced into the country at the head of 20 or 30 cavalry. At their approach, all the Indians were ambushed for defence in the woods, and from there shot their arrows at the troop without the cavaliers being able to approach or even see them. But the latter, exasperated, avenged themselves on the women and children who had not been able to flee. They massacred some/30 of [109] them, and returned, shamefully triumphant, with two young girls and a child which they had taken prisoners, as a sign of their victory.

When these imitators and descendants of Spaniards are asked if there is no other means of securing peace with these people, imbued with the ideas of their fathers, they ascribe to the Indians a character so barbarous that as they say, it is impossible to treat them otherwise. They say, 'They live in separate villages, and if peace is made with one of these hamlets, it is a reason for attack by the neighboring villages, who regard its inhabitants as traitors and who unite for its destruction.' However, when it is considered that the missions are

peopled only with these same men, and that the Padres, using alternately gentleness and severity, have been able to acquire over them the prodigious ascendancy which maintains these establishments, one cannot help thinking that the Commanders of the Presidios have taken the reverse of good policy like that of humanity. [110]

I was even witness of something which seemed to prove that resentment of so deplorable a system has not rendered the natives intractable. At harvest time, the missionaries of San Rafael and San Francisco Solano secured more Gentiles than they wanted to help them harvest their grain. They came to these missions with their women and children, constructed their temporary huts, and worked at the harvest for the small amount of wheat or corn which the Padres gave them. We found 200 or 300 of them who had been at San Francisco Solano for several weeks.

Nothing more miserable could be imagined than the inhabitants of that little camp which they had located opposite the Padre's house. The men were almost naked, the women wore only a mantle of strips of rabbit skin, twisted into cords and sewed together. This clothing is very warm, [111] but being very thick, it serves as a retreat for a prodigious quantity of those parasite insects so distasteful to us. For them, on the contrary, it is a sort of portable poultry-yard, where, in moments of leisure, each chooses her most delicious dish. While the young men shoot their arrows at Beaver and deer, their gentle lady loves are occupied with another hunt, and on their return, they offer them the succulent product in a mussel shell, as a man of fashion presents a lady with a box of mints."--Translation: Duhaut-Cilly, Voyage autour du Monde, 2:107-111, Paris 1835.

Alex S. Taylor Indian, of Monterey
Region 1860-63

INDIANS IN VICINITY OF MONTEREY REGION

INDIAN NAMES OF MISSION SITES

Carded

Alex S. Taylor in his 'Indianology of California', published in the California Farmer, 1860-1863 writes as follows regarding the Indians in the vicinity of the Monterey region and the Indian names of the old mission sites.

"Conversing with an old Indian of the Mission of Carmelo a short time ago, he gave us the following account of the Indians of Monterey and vicinity. This information agrees with that of others of the most aged Indians and several old native Californians brought up in this county, to whom I have inquired on the subject.

The Eslenes, Sakhones, Chalones, Katlendarukas, the Poytoquis, the Mutsunes, the Thamiens, and many other classes and affilees, all speaking different dialects of the Runsenes language of Monterey, roamed through the valleys and mountains of the Carmelo, Salinas, Pajaro, San Juan, Gilroy, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara and up to San Francisco, which were all pretty thickly populated. The Indians inhabiting this stretch of country, of some 170 miles long by 80 miles breadth, were enabled more or less to converse with each other; as though the dialects were infinitesimal and puzzling, their vocal communications were intelligible enough when brought together in the different missions. Those of San Miguel and San Antonio spoke another language further from those North or South, but it is not known how far East the language extends. The Indians are still numerous to the East, on the lakes and rivers from the Mariposa River to the Tejon Pass and in the surrounding unexplored mountains, and which by the by offers one of the most interesting fields of inquiry in the Philology and Ethnology

Taylor 2

of Utah and California. They had a kind of worship of the Sun and Moon, and entertained a faint belief in a God who lived among the stars.

From the records of the old Padres, it appears that the Indian name of the site of San Luis Obispo Mission was, Tixilini; that of San Diego, Nypagudy; of San Luis Rey, Icayme; of San Juan Capistrano, Quanis Savit; of San Gabriel, Tobiscanga; of Santa Clara, Thamien; of Soledad, Sakhones; of San Carlos Carmelo, Eslenes; of the town of Stockton, Yachicumnes or Yachchumnes. These names were likely those of the most thickly populated rancherias in the vicinity of each place.

The old Indian above mentioned is about 60 years old, and was baptized when a child, by Padre Juan Amoros, at Carmelo."

Alex S. Taylor, Indianology of California, Calif; Farmer, Vol. 12, No. 3, Feb. 22, 1860

INDIAN RAIDS NEAR SANTA CRUZ

Cornelio Perez (a native Californian born in Santa Cruz 1811), in Recollections dictated for the Bancroft Library, gives the following brief accounts of Indian raids in the country round about Santa Cruz:

"In the year 1833 I was named Juez de Campo of the [1] town of Branciforte, its jurisdiction extending from San Lorenzo to the arroyo of the Pajaro (now Watsonville) . . . In the year 1835 the Indians from the Tulare came in, stealing our possessions and the horses belonging to the mission, which deed went without any punishment or persecution. In the year 1838 the Indians in Soquel stole the horses of Don Carlos Castro. As Juez de Campo I assembled the principal citizens of Santa Cruz to set out in pursuit of the barbarians, whom they succeeded in overtaking at the dangerous arroyo called La Laguna del Cazo. It had rained heavily there that morning, but in spite of the bad weather we defeated them, killing 2 Indians whom they left there. As I was leader of this expedition, composed of 4 men, I had to [2] get them free from the battle and succeed in taking all the horses away from the Indians, after which I sent them to their owner Carlos Castro, who gave a good reward.

In the year 1844 the Indians invaded the Rancho del Refugio, stealing the horses of Juan José Feliz. Five men immediately set out in pursuit under command of Don Manuel Rodriguez, alcalde of the pueblo of Branciforte and Santa Cruz, and they succeeded in overtaking them at the arroyo of Sayanta. The Indians went up the mountain into the Chamisal, and on reaching a large

Indian Raids - 2.

white rock took a big knife and killed a man called Antonio Amaya, [2] who was on ahead, leaving him stretched out on the ground stripped of his clothing and mutilated. . . José Ma. Castro following some distance behind Amaya, and seeing what the Indians were doing with the body, fled into a chamisal, where he met a bear that lacerated his hand. The Indians continued their way taking with [3] them the horses, but Leon Feliz and the forementioned Castro went back to the Pueblo of San José, and presenting themselves to the judge, Antonio Ma. Pico, told how the Indians had killed Antonio Amaya. At that this judge ordered Don Franco Palomares in company with 3 men, to go in search of the body, which they found as we have before described. When they brought it back for interment at Santa Cruz, the judge decided that they must go in search of Antonio Rodriguez, who at the time the Indians were killing Amaya escaped on foot, and went to the ranch named Tito, which was probably some 16 miles from the place of this incident. This man lost his saddle horse among the Indians."

Cornelio Perez, Memoria Historica de California, pp. 1-3,
MS, Bancroft Library, 1877.

S. Vallejo - Sonoma Valley Indians

Salvador Vallejo (1814-76), in historical notes entitled Narrative of Ancient Days in California, dictated by him for the Bancroft Library, gives the following account of the subjugation of the Indians of Sonoma Valley, through the strategy of his brother, Gen. M. J. Vallejo, aided by the intelligence and cunning of Prince Solano:

"Only through cunning, hard fighting, and diplomacy, [84] M. G. Vallejo succeeded in getting a permanent foothold in the valley of Sonoma; and he kept it afterward by following the astute policy of the ancient Romans, who created dissensions among their neighbors for the purpose of afterwards being called in to act as mediators. When the General arrived in the valley ~~was~~ received by thousands of ~~men~~ ~~class~~ class which we call mansos (tame) who hailed him as liberator and who got up dances and bear fights in honor of the arrival among them of a white man accompanied by a young wife and many [85] soldiers. Their joy was great indeed and were not slow in giving vent to their unfeigned pleasure in many a strange way. The mansos felt elated because having been repeatedly worsted in their engagements with the Satiyomi and their allies, feared annihilation at the hands of their more numerous foes, and therefore welcomed the arrival in their midst of the white man, through whose instrumentality they hoped to gain their lost prestige and power.

The knowledge of these continual wars prevailing among different tribes of Indians, as well as the internal dissension existing among members of the same family, induced M. J. Vallejo to form a settlement in their midst, hoping of being able to turn to his own and country's advantage the distracted state of the dwellers of the Valley of the Moon. (Sonoma is an Indian name which means valley of the moon.) Impressed with the idea that it would be an easy task to obtain and keep possession of the whole valley of Sonoma, if he could arrange [85] matters so as to get a foothold in some parts of it, he, while in charge of the fort of San Francisco, carried on secret nego- [86] tiations with members of the Suysun tribe, and having made sure of their good will and assistance, boldly set out with a handful of men, a young bride and a few servants. His arrival no sooner became known to Peregrino, Zamay, Tuerto and other chiefs of the tribes dwelling south of the place now called Clear Lake and NE of Suysun, they (allied for this occasion for the purpose of butchering the invaders, as they styled Gen. Vallejo and his colony) collected a goodly number of warriors and forward they came ready for the fray. But in this, their first attack, as in every subsequent one, with only two exceptions, victory perched on the standard of the followers of Christ, and the poor Indians after two or three days of hard fighting were always compelled to retrace their steps towards their mountain fastnesses, greatly diminished in number, for we every time

they came to fight us made them contribute a few bodies towards filling up dangerous holes. Whenever the general heard that two tribes were about making war against each other, he always found means to assist the weakest party, and though he seldom allowed his name to be mixed up in affairs of this kind, by means of Prince Solano, his confidential [87] agent, less learned than his employer, but more wily and cunning, obtained timely advise of every impending attack designed either against the white or their Indian allies. I will cite an instance in which much against my will I played a prominent part in one of the 'corp de etat' organized through the sagacity of the Indian diplomatist -- Zampay, chief of the Yolotoy tribe was feared but not loved by his brother Indians, he respected neither kith nor kin; blood and more blood was his cry; friends and foes fared equally bad with him; of late he had murdered several captains of the friendly tribes, whom he had called to an informal council. The loss of so many captains caused serious uneasiness to General Vallejo, who though ^{he} kept up a defiant demeanor and in presence of strangers acted as if he were resting on a bed of roses, when discussing the situation within the family circle, could not conceal the fact that he felt uneasy at the growing power of Zampay, and resolved on his capture. Two means offered themselves for the purpose, one by marching boldly into the enemy's country, burn^{ing} his houses and killing his people. The other was by resorting to diplomacy, intrigue,

strategy, or anything else that would contribute to success, [88] and be instrumental in freeing the world from a monster like Zampay, who tortured everything human that had the misfortune to come in contact with him. An open declaration of war not being considered a profitable investment, it was decided that the fate of Zampay should be left entirely in the hands of Solano, who forthwith proceeded to seduce from their allegiance members of the bodyguard of that terrible chief, and the conspirators having hostages for the faithful performance of their part of the agreement, I set out with the troop of my command for the purpose of capturing him. After a march of nine days I came upon the enemy's camp at a place not far from where the town of Woodland stands. I made slow progress while traveling, for it would have been a very unwise thing for one to travel in night time in a country thickly wooded where the Indians were always on the 'chi vive', and often prepared ambuscades from which they sallied forth uttering deafening cries which frightened both men and horses, actions [89] which in the night time would certainly have produced a panic which even my sangre fria could not have controlled. Moreover these Indians whenever they feared an attack from a large body of cavalry, and knew beforehand the road on which they intended to travel, dug deep pits into which they threw large stones, then they covered the mouth of the pits with branches, placed a few inches of dirt on top of the branches, and did everything in such a skilful manner that the danger would not even be surmised until man and beast disappeared from view through

the trap so cunningly prepared. Beside, the Indians¹₂ Yolotoys [89] resorted to ambuscades not known to the other wild tribes of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. They generally selected a spot well studded with thick grass and there hid themselves from view of the traveler; and as soon as the enemy had passed by the place where they had been waiting, fired a volley of arrows, then picking up their lances, charged with great fury, [90] and being very fast runners often overtook the dismayed horseman who fell an easy prey to his cunning foe. However by adopting timely precautions I succeeded in arriving safely with my command in the vicinity of the pueblos of Zampay, whom I hoped to be able to catch without bloodshed, for it had been agreed with members of his own tribe, that on my arrival he should be captured by them and turned over to my tender mercy. But this part of the program could not be carried through according to our agreement, owing to the fact that my long delay in reaching the appointed place, had disheartened some of the warriors, who had left the camp of Zampay and went to the pueblos of their allies, the Shastas, besides a courier having informed the blood-thirsty chief of my approach, he prepared to give me a warm reception. Duly informed of the movements of my wily foe, I halted at a place distant three miles from where he awaited my arrival, called a council of the friendly Indian captains that were enlisted under my banner and to them I made known the state of affairs as had been reported to me. I opened the session of the council by proposing a simultaneous assault at four different points of the pueblo; but Prince

Solano whose whole life had been spent advocating and following Indian diplomacy, as understood by him, suggested the subjoined plan, which being approved by his copper-colored brothers, I adopted in view of not alienating them from my cause.

Plan of Solano Adopted by the Council

We selected 20 Indians of the tribe of Suysun and Topaitos, washed them clean, took away even the smallest feather they had stuck in their hair, scraped off even the smallest stain of painting from their necks, foreheads, arms, hands, and legs 'y arreglado su largo pelo en la nuca, sostenido por una maderita de mansanillo finamente trabajada, del tamaño de catorce pulgados y hecha á semejanza de auja¹. We instructed them to divide themselves into small bands, and pursuing different routes make for the camp of Zampay, to whom they were to give assurance of submission on their part, and to pretend that the members of their tribes who followed my leadership would not fight against him; but that the very moment he should show himself at the head of his braves, they would draw their weapons against me and Solano, and give him an easy victory. No sooner the Prince called for volunteers for this dangerous [92] mission, every Indian in camp came forward and claimed the privilege of risking their lives in quest of renown; but the astute Chief not always prone to place too much reliance on young people, selected 20 cool-headed warriors, to whom having duly explained the nature of the service they were expected to

¹and their hair arranged on their necks bound by a little stick of finely worked manzanita about 14 inches long, and made to resemble an abalone shell.

perform and obtained the assurance that even should they be [92]
tied by raw-hide thongs, would not divulge the plan of our
party, granted them leave to start on their dangerous mission.
In course of the day our 20 spies arrived at Zampay's Camp
and by means of prearranged answers artfully given, succeeded
if not in lulling him into a state of fancied security, they
at least infused in his depraved soul hopes of a certain and
easy victory. Yet, though such was his belief, acting, as is
usual with Indians, with great precaution, sent to the mountain
fastnesses the women of the tribe together with every valuable
he possessed. (Though Zampay was considered very wealthy by
the Indians who set great value on belts made of bones, shell
necklaces, feather crowns, etc., we the white men would not
have given a single tame bear for everything possessed by the
terrible and sanguinary Zampay). And early the next morning, [93]
followed by at least 3000 fighting braves, painted and armed
to the teeth, came forward to capture the whole of my command.
But poor fellow; his star was on the wane; and though he lived
many years afterwards, he always cursed the fatal morning of
the sixth day of July 1837, in which to his own cost he
learned that Indian deserters were not to be believed. As
by reliable information timely imparted to me, I had been
made aware of every one of his movements, I was prepared to
give him a warm reception; and in no time his followers were
flying in every direction, hotly pursued by the chiefs Vallua
and Wueuneck-Zalampay. Meanwhile I at the head of 40 natives
every one of them as well as myself mounted on fleet horses,
made straight for Zampay that fully aware of his inability to

cope with men so well armed and so finely mounted as we were, started to flee from the wrath to come. I was soon at his heels and as he was crossing a small creek, sent a ball [94] through his right wrist which stunned him and caused him to stop. Meanwhile my favorite orderly, Manual Cantua, rode to the place where he was and with his lariatta lassoed him and brought him to my presence. I without hesitation ordered him to be shot within one hour, for I had no time to spare just then, for the southern part of California was greatly agitated and the Commander-General was anxious I should return to Sonoma at the earliest convenience, for his presence was needed in Monterey and he could not start until my return; for it would have been worse than murder to leave Sonoma Valley unprotected at a season in which numberless bands of savages were prowling in the vicinity of our infant settlements. But before the time of execution arrived, Solano succeeded in persuading me that Zampay alive was worth more to us than Zampay dead, and his arguments having made impression on my mind, I consented to spare the life of the captive chief, that though wounded I had caused to be tied with strong leather cords and brought him to Sonoma, where the Commander General of the Department granted him a free pardon on the following conditions. First, he should cause all the young girls and children stolen [95] by him or by other members of his tribe from the family of the Topaitos, should be brought to Sonoma and delivered into the hands of Solano who was instructed to place them with their parents. Second that ten of the principal members of the

family of Zampay should abandon their mode of living and come to settle near Sonoma where they were to engage in agricultural pursuits. Thirdly, that Zampay should settle with his family in Sonoma and behave in a decent manner. Strange as it may seem, the ferocious monster accepted and fulfilled one and all of the conditions imposed on him, and up to the time of the arrival of General Kearney in California was leading an honest life.

I am now compelled to state a fact which goes far [95] towards detracting from the glory of Solano. I do it with great regret, for it is undeniable that while living rendered good and efficient and important services to the Commander General Vallejo, and there is no doubt that if Solano had been an enemy instead of a friend of the whites, the whole country from San Diego up to San Joaquin River would have been plundered [96] and retaken by its original possessors, the gentiles of the desert. But as history cannot be hidden under a rock and often the earth is disembowelled for the purpose of clearing small items of trifling interest; for its sake, I will narrate the only dark deed which stains Prince Solano's otherwise glorious record. It seems that some evil disposed bad men of my race, one of whom was the renowned Father Mercado, a priest of very corrupted morals, had induced Solano to engage in the traffic of children and young girls. Of course this proceeding of the misguided chief was not known to the General, but that fact did not prevent Solano from spreading the rumor that the 'Chief of the Whites', the title under which he designated General Vallejo, was a party to the

transaction. Of course this story being made known to persons ever ready to pocket an honest dollar no matter how obtained, caused regularly organized expeditions to be fitted out for the purpose of stealing children. This fact having become known to General Vallejo he did not hesitate to imprison Solano, and without delay sent out armed bodies of troops that rescued many stolen babies and even young girls. (The [97] officers at Fort Ross were ~~kind~~ fond of young girls, principally those of the Cainamero tribe, mostly tall, well-formed and good-looking), who had been sold for a few dollars or given in exchange of horses and cattle. The order of the imprisonment of the Prince spread like wildfire throughout the country; his warriors mustered in force and threatened to rescue him from the guard house, but General Vallejo having removed his quarters in the upper room of the guard house building maintained order throughout the night, and on the following morning, Solano having solicited an interview with the 'Chief of the Whites' confessed his error, frankly admitted that Father Mercado and other bad men had induced him to engage in the enterprise and gave a list of the persons who had purchased Indian creatures from him. This open confession and reparation made a deep impression on General Vallejo who forthwith restored the captive prince to freedom and former rights, on hearing which the Suysunes, Topaitos and Cainameros invaded [98] the large square of Sonoma, and the surrounding streets, and during three days dancing and feasting went on in all its glory and splendor. Believe me that even now that nearly 37 years have elapsed since that eventful day I feel as I were

living my young days over again when my imagination roams [98]
back and dwells over the amusing dances and improvised
feasts which then took place. But resuming the thread of
my narrative I will state that with few exceptions every one
of the Indians sold through the credulity of Solano were
restored to their parents, and I can without fear of wounding
veracity, assert that from that day until the arrival of
Kearney in California not a single Indian was sold though a
great many were hired out to persons who gave security as
to their ability of taking good care and educating the
children thus entrusted to their keeping; and in cases where
Indian babies were left without parents, the Commander General
ever ready to watch over the welfare of the poor outcast, had
them educated at his own expense and many of them are now
doing well in California."

Salvador Vallejo, Narrative of Ancient Days in California,
pp. 84-98, MS Bancroft Library, 1874.

Vallejo - to Bodega, Santa Rosa 1833

VALLEJO'S EXPEDITION TO BODEGA, ~~ROSS~~, AND SANTA ROSA, 1833.

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In the Vallejo documents on the history of California, is the following letter from M. G. Vallejo to Governor and Commander General Figueroa, dated San Francisco, May 1833, and giving a report of his expedition to Bodega, the condition and hostility of the Indians, and the effect of bad treatment at the hands of the priests:

"On the 28th day of the past month [April¹⁸³³], I set [140] out from Ross to the Port of Bodega about 7 leagues from that establishment, where exist the wooden constructions erected to afford an opportunity to their ships and to those of foreigners to unload, load, and deposit the harvests which they export from that region. This harbor and the neighboring one called San Francisco (otherwise Los Tamales) form a beautiful bay whose two points of land extend into the sea and are about a league and a half apart, so that this port up to now has been known as Bodega. Up to this time they have not given it the name which properly belongs to it which is that of Gulf, for within this bay at the two extremes north and south there are two branches navigable and large enough for ships of the larger kind to anchor and for a multitude of smaller ones, ~~on~~ which can go inward as far as 6 leagues.

Both abound in wood, although it is about a league away from the one at Bodega. All the lands that surround the above mentioned bay are covered with grass, and are suitable for planting and irrigation, for there are 5 arroyos with good and permanent water, lakes, and so on, consequently

unsurpassed for the raising of cattle, although it was not possible to examine minutely the one at San Francisco [Tamales] I am sure that it affords better advantages than that at Bodega.

There is no fortress at the port of Bodega; there [141] only remains there the chief of the gentile Indians with his people whose rancheria is called Tiutuye, and consists now of 43 people both men and women. They are there to care for the docks that the Russians have constructed. They do not trouble them in their rancheria. Rather, on the contrary, I was told that a few days before my arrival at that place 200 armed men, including gentiles and Christians from San Rafael, had been there for the purpose of discovering if a body of troops had passed through that neighborhood. For so a certain Toribio, a Christian Indian from the Mission of San Rafael, asserted, telling all the gentiles that they were going to kill them or take them away to San Francisco, and that in truth a great chief commanded the troop (whose name is a bugbear to the officials), so that they must prepare themselves to fight or see that a part of them would be taken. Toribio so succeeded in alarming many of the gentiles as well as the Christian fugitives from several of the missions, that at the same time they heard this, gathered together and armed a multitude of natives resolved to die rather than be carried away to other lands, as the soldiers were always doing.

All this was done through the power of Toribio. That they were tired of suffering so much deceit and treachery from the leaders of the guard, that in future it would be otherwise, that the soldiers were always promising them friendship, and when they had gained their confidence took them prisoners by force and conducted them to San Rafael and Solano to make them Christians. These were substantially the expressions uttered by Gualiuela, chief of the rancheria of Tintuye.

I persuaded him, inspired him with confidence, [142] treated him kindly, and succeeded so that his people would talk with me who had fled from fear, leaving only Gualiuela. I treated them all kindly and gave presents to the chief, with the result that I gained their friendship. They had a blind confidence in me as well as in my troop, which consisted of 20 men whom I warned to behave with moderation and gentleness.

Gualinela offered to send 2 or more of his men to the gentiles for the purpose of telling them from him that they ^{should} ~~would~~ not believe Toribio; that all those things which he told them were false; that he himself had been talking with the great chief of the soldiers, and that he did not want to fight, to kill them, or to carry them away to other lands, that all of his people and he himself were now friends of the soldiers. That they should all put down their arms, and that if any of them wanted to go with him to San Francisco they should let him know. He actually sent his emissaries, but I am ignorant of the result as I went away before their return.

Referring to the story of the chief of Tiutuye when he spoke of being betrayed by the soldiers, I think that truly they had been molested and deceived, not so much on the part of the troop as by the missionaries, through their system, detestable and in nowise politic, of reducing those unhappy natives to Christianity, taking them violently from their home and conducting them by force to foreign lands, where they were baptized under such conditions that they were justified in breaking the promises which they made then. The missions of Old California were usually founded on this principle.

I started for Santa Rosa, about 12 leagues from Bodega; [143] I crossed the neighboring sierra, and reached the arroya of Tamalanica, a place where the Russians made their plantings two years ago, and which is about 3 leagues from the port of Bodega and 5 from that of Ross. There are no Russians or other foreigners in this place, although in the time that they planted there a Kodiak was kept there to care for it. This place is very small and now abandoned, because the inducements which were made to the commander of that establishment from the commander of San Francisco in 1831 resulted in their withdrawing to Ross where they remained.

I went on my way to Santa Rosa, and on the march passed by the rancheria of Suluyomi, now without inhabitants, because they had united with those of the interior. There is a beautiful and permanent arroyo here, which serves to irrigate all the lands in the vicinity, and an abundance of woods of all kinds.

There is another arroyo near this called Melea where the same conditions exist, and three leagues from here is the arroyo of Sayomi with plenty of water. It is permanent, with excellent lands for irrigation, seasonal plantings, watering places, and wood. Four leagues from here somewhat more or less is Livantuliquini in whose surroundings are found large tule lakes and an abundance of beaver, some evidences of the foreign trappers of these animals were found in this place as well as before we reached it. Livantuliquini is situated to the west of the arroyos of Santa Rosa and Iagüiyomi. These all contain extensive lands under the best conditions for founding a beautiful town. I am always inclined to think that it should be in the vicinity of Santa Rosa and Iagüiyomi, because all of its conditions--topography, view, &c--combined to make a beautiful location.

M. S. Vallejo, letter to Gov. Figueroa, San Francisco May 2, 1833.
 In, Documentos para la Historia de Calif., Vol. 2, 140-143,
 1833-1834

Zalvidea Exped - 1806

ZALVIDEA'S EXPEDITION OF 1806

Zalvidea's expedition to Tulare Valley in 1806 is in the main not difficult to follow. The party left Santa Barbara July 19; left Santa Inez the next day; reached their northernmost point in the southern San Joaquin Valley August 1; set out on the return trip August 3; and arrived at San Gabriel August 14. The route, according to Bancroft's abstract translation[✓], I interpret as follows:

From Santa Inez Valley Zalvidea traveled northerly and easterly to Cuyama Valley by a route which is not quite clear. He visited Jonatas rancheria and Saca [=Zaca], and thence, apparently, continued north 5 leagues to Olomosoug, which seems to have been on Sisquoc River not far from the mouth of Tepusquet Cañon, and 4 leagues farther (apparently up Tepusquet Cañon) to Gecp; thence on the 22nd he continued northerly over the Sierra, traveled 2 leagues to "Talihuilimit on the plain" - apparently in Santa Maria Valley 5 or 6 miles above the mouth of Buckthorn Creek² - and on the same day continued northeasterly 6 leagues to Lisahua (described as "near an arroyo on an arid nitrous soil without wood or pasture".)

[✓]Bancroft, Hist. Calif. II, 48-50 ftnote, 1885.

²By the present wagon road, the distance from Mission Santa Inez to Santa Maria River at junction of Buckthorn Creek, by way of Tepusquet Canon, is about 36 miles. - cum

Lisahua appears to have been in Cuyama Valley where, from the other distances given, I am inclined to locate it at or near Agua Caliente on the west side of the valley 10 or 12 miles below the present Cuyama Ranch. This must have been a long day's march; ~~but~~ the distances given are too short. It is possible that another route was taken across the mountains to Cuyama Valley, not so far north as Tepusquet, but this cannot be determined from Bancroft's abstract.

On the 23rd he visited two other rancherías, both apparently in Cuyama Valley — Cuia 4 leagues east, and Siguecín 4 leagues south — and returned to Lisahua. Here, as elsewhere, the directions and distances are not to be relied on too implicitly.

Leaving Lisahua on the 24th he moved easterly 4 leagues, past a salina, to Sgene, which I locate at the spring at Cuyama Ranch, where the U. S. Geological Survey has established a bench mark registering an altitude of 2180 ft. Continuing easterly 7 leagues more he camped at Malapoa, also called Napolea, which appears to have been near the west end of San Emigdio Mt. (east of Cuyama Valley and south or southsouthwest of Buenavista Lake).

On July 25 he traveled northerly, or a little east of north, 8 leagues to a place he called Buenavista on the south shore of a large lagoon spoken of as Laguna Grande de los Tulares, described as 8 leagues long and 5 wide. Bancroft identifies it as probably Tulare Lake, but

this is an error, there being no question whatever as to its identity. It was the lake formed by the union at high water of the two lakes now known as Buenavista and Kern. In connection with it Zalvidea mentions three branches of a great river --without doubt the Kern.

July 26 he traveled till noon easterly along the south shore of the lake, and in the afternoon north over a broad plain along the edge of the tules to Sisupistu at the northeast point of what is now Kern Lake.

July 27 he moved easterly 4 leagues across an arid plain and 2 leagues into a canyon to a site called Tupai, which must have been near the present ranch house of the Tejon Ranch. The following three days (July 28, 29, 30) were spent in exploring the region. Zalvidea states that nearby were oak hills, grassy plains, and a pine-covered mountain range, and mentions the Rancheria Tacui, evidently Tecuya, situated in a canyon of the same name. He speaks also of the semicircle of hills at the southeastern border of the San Joaquin Valley about 7 leagues from the east point of Kern Lake.

July 31 and August 1 he moved northward 9 leagues to a place he called "Rancheria de los Rios, or Yaguelame", the identity of which is beyond question. It is the rancheria of Yawelmane which within the recollection of people still living occupied the site of the present city of Bakersfield.

Zalvidea 4

The identification is made still more complete by Zalvidea's statement that "here were two of the three branches into which a great river from the Sierra divides itself and which 3 leagues distant through a forest of poplars reunite to form the Laguna Grande de los Tulares". The river of course is the Kern, and the description accurately fits the location of Bakersfield. This was the northernmost point reached by Zalvidea's expedition.

On August 3 he turned south, again passing the Punta de la Laguna (the northeast point of Kern Lake previously mentioned) and camping a league beyond.

August 4 he continued southerly (probably south-westerly) 4 leagues into a canyon described as 5 leagues from Punta de la Laguna, 5 from Buenavista, and 7 from Rancheria de los Rios or Yaguelame. [The latter distance is too short and does not agree with that given on the northward trip.] In connection with this canyon he mentions the Rancheria of Taslupi, which obviously is Tashlepoom Ranche ria, at or near the mouth of San Enigdio Canyon.

August 6 he passed easterly through a canyon, now known as Cuddy Canyon, and on the 7th visited the Rancheria of Castegue, which, as I am informed by the Tejon Indians, was on Castac Lake, at the forks of the Canada de los Uvas.

August 8, continuing easterly, he traveled 4 leagues to a spring and 7 leagues beyond into a broad valley -

Antelope Valley.

August 9-11 he continued easterly along the southern edge of the Mohave Desert, keeping near the foot of the mountains to Guapiabit in the neighborhood of what is now known as Cajon Pass. Leaving Guapiabit on the 13th he passed Moscopiabit, not far from the present San Bernardino, and turning westerly, reached the Mission of San Gabriel on the 14th.

While some of the details of the early part of the journey are not clear, particularly as to the route taken from Santa Inez to Cuyama Valley, the greater part is easily followed. There is no question whatever as to the identity of the 'Laguna Grande de los Tulares' with Kern and Buonavista Lakes, united at high water, and it should be remembered that the date of Zalvidea's visit (the end of July) coincides with what is often the period of high water of Kern River. The length of the south side of the lake, 8 leagues, and the distance northerly from the east end to Yaguelame or Rancheria de los Rios -- the site of the present Bakersfield -- affords additional proof. It is perfectly obvious that Zalvidea did not see Tulare Lake at all, his northernmost point being the site of Bakersfield. From this point he turned back, as already detailed.

The names of several of the rancherias visited afford positive landmarks in his course. Those concerning

the identity of which no question can arise are:

Yaguelame [=Yawelmane] at the site of Bakersfield

Tacui [=Tecuya = Ta-koo-ya] near Canada de los Uvas

Taslupi [=Tashlepoom] at San Emigdio

Castequue [=Castak=Kastak] on Castac Lake at the forks of Uvas Canyon.

Besides these, Saca [=Zaca] was mentioned in the early part of the route, and the wellknown Moscopiabit near San Bernardino the latter part. Other identifications are probable, but not so positive as these.

C. Hart Merriam

April 1912.

ZALVIDEA'S EXPEDITION INLAND TO BUENA VISTA LAKE, 1806

In 1806 Padre José Maria Zalvidea went on an expedition from Santa Barbara and Santa Ynez Missions inland to Buena Vista Lake for the purpose of getting better acquainted with the country and Indians. He visited the rancherias of Atongai, Buenavista, Casteque, Cuia, Geop, Guapiana, Guapiabit, Jalihuilimu, Jonatas, Lisahua, Malapoa or Napolea, Moscopiabit, Olmosoug, Saca, Sgene, Sicuicon, Sisupistu, Taqui, Taslupi, and Yaguelame.

The following is a translation made in 1917 from a MS copy of Zalvidea's diary in the Bancroft Library:

"Diario de una expedicion tierra adentro," 1806.

Arch. Sta. Barbara, Vol. IV, pp. 49-68, 1806-1821.

It was carefully compared with the original diary at the Mission of Santa Barbara, a 4-page quarto entitled: "Diario del P. Jose Ma. de Zalvidea desde el 19 de Jul. hasta el 14 de Agosto de 1806." Typographical errors in rancheria names in the copy of the diary in the Bancroft Library are given in footnotes to this translation.

Dr. H. I. Priestley in an article on Expeditions sent out from California missions (in galley proof, not published) gives an abstract of this expedition and his identifications of localities are here given in footnotes.

Dr. Priestley says: "The diary kept by Father Zalvidea is hard to follow, as the measures his leagues short and marches only on the cardinal points of the compass." Careful study of the document, comparing the place names with some still existing, shows the route to have been much more southerly than thought by Bancroft. By measurement and description he could not have gone as far north as the Visalia country, and the lake which he visited, the 'Laguna de los Tulares', was Buenavista and not Tulare Lake."

Bancroft's abstract is given in his Hist. of Calif., Vol. II, pp. 48-50, 1886.

Diary of P. Jose Ma. de Zalvidea from July 19-August 14, 1806.

July 19.--Set out from Santa Barbara; arrived at mission of Santa Inez.

[50]

July 20.--Set out from Sta. Inez toward the N; after 3 leagues found remains of the rancheria called Jonatas^B; another 3 leagues from this rancheria is found the rancheria of Saca^V whose Indians are Christians of Santa Inez; 5 leagues from this rancheria came to another called Olomosong³ of 3 houses. There live in this rancheria 2 old women and 4 young women with their chief. Baptized in this rancheria two old women, 1 of 80 years, and the other of 70, the first with the name of Maria Dominga and the second Maria Geronima.

July 21.--Set out from the rancheria of Olomosong³ toward the N, and after 4 leagues came to rancheria of 5 houses in which lived 4 men and 7 women. In this rancheria named Geop we baptized 2 old women of 80 and 90 years, the first we called Ma. Josefa and the other Josefa Ma. This day my interpreter returned because of illness and left me supplied with one from San Fernando. All the road has been broken today by a little arroyo⁴ of no consideration. We

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^B Spelled Ionatas in copy in Bancroft Library; Priestley says probably near modern Jonata.

^V Priestley: On modern Zaca Creek.

³ Spelled Olomosong in copy in Bancroft Library; Priestley locates on or near Sisquac River.

⁴ Priestley says probably Brush Creek.

slept in a canada where there was a little arroyo of water.

July 22.--Traveled with road to N. The first of our journey we had to go over a mountain of very bad road then we came out on some plains¹ and after two leagues we found the rancheria of Jalihuilimu², where we baptized three old women; the first of 60 years we found with a useless leg and gave her the name of Ma. Magdalena. This old woman had a son at Sta. Inez. The second was 65 years old and had her waist bitten by a bear. We named her Maria Marta. [51] She had a Christian son at Purisima. The third whom we baptized was more than 100 years old and was given the name Ma. Francisca. The rancheria had 25 gentile people. After midday we traveled on; toward the E after 6 leagues more we found the rancheria of Lisahua. It was a rancheria of 28 gentile people of whom we made 5 Christians: 4 very old women with hair entirely gray and 1 old man. We gave the [52] first the name of Maria Juana; the second Juana Maria; the third Maria Antonia; the 4th Antonia Ma. and the old man Juan. Near the rancheria there was an arroyo of water like that at San Fernando. The land is arid, nitrous, has no pasture or wood.

July 23.--Set out from the rancheria of Lisahua, taking the road to the E, and after 4 leagues we found a rancheria called Quia of 9 houses, which was composed of 14 men, 19 women and 8 infants, all gentiles. In it we baptized 5 old women and 2 old men. Near the rancheria there were three

¹Priestley: Valley of Cuyama River.

²Spelling in copy in Bancroft Library: Talihuilimit

little waterholes that did not contain much water. The land is arid, nitrous, and there is no wood in the neighborhood. Four leagues to the S of this rancheria is the rancheria of Siguicon⁴. This rancheria had 16 men and 19 women and some children. We baptized 2 old women, one more than 100 years old, the other 70. In these last two rancherias there [53] were two little water-holes. The land is dry and nitrous and there are not many trees in the neighborhood. We returned to sleep at the rancheria of Lisahua.

July 24.--We started our journey toward the E and after two leagues came to the first Salina, first strip of wood, and a wild horse. After 4 leagues we came to the rancheria Sgene. This rancheria contained 7 men, 15 women and 3 children. Baptized 3 old women and an old man. At 7 leagues from this rancheria to the E we came to a rancheria called Malapoa. This rancheria had 29 men, 22 women and 8 children. Baptized 1 old woman 80 years old. The land which we went through all day is arid and without grass or trees. In the afternoon of this day I set out with the lieutenant and some soldiers for a little ranch (ranchito) of Indians belonging to the rancheria of Napolea. It is three leagues from this [54] ranchito to the rancheria of Napolea. There is a little waterhole a league from the rancheria of Napolea; on the way from the rancheria of Napolea to the ranchito there are good lands for plantings. I saw a mountain with some pines

⁴Spelling in copy in Bancroft Library: Signecin.

and on some neighboring hills there is pasture. In the ranchito I baptized 5 women and 1 old man . . . At a league from the ranchito I saw a sierra covered with pine growth.

July 25.--Traveled N and after 8 leagues found the rancheria of Buena Vista, which has 36 men and 144 women and 38 children, according to what the Indians say. This rancheria is on the shore of a lake^u, 8 leagues long and 5 leagues wide. The Indians cross the lake on balsas (rafts). This lake has its origin in a large river that divides into three branches, all these rivers uniting to form the lake. At the rancheria of Buena Vista baptized one old woman . . . [55]
The Indians say that a day and a half of travel from Buena Vista there is a pass by the other side of the lake. We passed the night 2 leagues away from Buena Vista.

July 26.--Traveled E by the shore of the lake until midday. After midday we traveled to the N. in the morning we went through broad plains. The land is nitrous in quality. All that corresponds to the shore of the lake has much tule. In the rest and in the mountains bordering the plains traveled yesterday there is neither grass nor water. After midday we traveled to the N through some outstretching plains, which we found had some grass. At evening we arrived at the rancheria at the point of the lake called Sisupistu. In our company there ~~were~~ several Indians from the rancheria of Buena Vista. When they saw these Indians coming, those in the

^uPriestley: Quite possible Kern and Buena Vista united.

rancheria at the point of the lake came out from their rancheria to a tule that is in its vicinity. We found the Indians turbulent. They shot an arrow at the chief of Buenavista. The reason for this was the coming of the Indians from Buenavista, who were their enemies, of all of which we were ignorant. In order to learn at once the reason for this disturbance I parleyed with the chief of the rancheria of Sisupistu and made him understand that we came to be their friends; that we did not know that the Indians of Buenavista were their enemies. I called to the two hostile chiefs and made them friends and immediately all were appeased. We slept in sight of the rancheria and the Indians of Buenavista were in our camp all night. In order that there might be no disturbance among the Indians I took away the bows and arrows that the Indians from Buena Vista carried. The night passed without incident. The next morning I gave back their arms and after having presented them to the Indians of Buena Vista ordered them to go back to their rancheria (which they did) and persuaded both rancherias to be peaceful and both chiefs gave me their word that they would not fight again. I saw in this rancheria of Sisupistu about 50 or 60 men and some women, but as at this time the greater part of the Indians are gathering seeds, I cannot ascertain the exact number of Indians in each rancheria for although on the other hand I question them, they do not usually tell the truth. I counted the houses of the Indians of this rancheria and there are 28, from which

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your excellency can infer the number of people, more or less.

July 27.--Baptized one woman. Set out from the rancheria in an E direction and a league from our starting place we found an old woman in a little house, breathing her last, destitute of all human help. Baptized her and she died . . . In the morning we traveled about 4 leagues through arid plain and a little grass; then we entered a cañada and after two leagues we made our camp in the same cañada with the intention of remaining here some days and exploring that place which seemed to merit attention. This afternoon we explored a part of this cañada; we discovered some large plains that had some grass; all the land is of good quality as is that of the mission of San Gabriel. We saw some water-holes, after which we returned to the camp.

July 28.--This morning set out with the lieutenant and some soldiers to explore the land and watering places that there are about the camp. A quarter of a league after we set out we found an arroyo full of good water. A gunshot's distance from the arroyo is a hill well covered with oaks and live oaks. This arroyo runs through a bit of lands good for planting. A quarter of an hour from this arroyo there is a little arroyo that has a proportionate amount of land good for planting. This little arroyo could support two irrigation ditches. Going on a half a league away from this arroyo there is another which at its source has twice as much water as the last, but this ends after a little distance. Going by this arroyo so-called, I saw another

which runs between two hills and has no appreciable amounts of land for planting. Besides these arroyos there is another that has excellent lands for planting and could supply an irrigation ditch. There are also some little marshes in the vicinity. The location of the place explored this morning is as follows: From N to S there are hills and heights that form a half circle; distant 7 leagues from the point of the lake. Its plains are much greater than those of the mission of Santa Clara. All this land is covered with a kind of growth that has a little branch and produces a yellow flower. ^{There is no timber except small wood.} / All the hills surrounding the land have grass although it does not amount to much. Because of the great extent of the plains they could very well support 12,000 head of cattle. In the neighborhood of this site there is a mountain covered with pine growth. The site of our camp is called Tupai. Beyond the mountain [60] to the N it is said there are some Indian rancherias.

July 29.--This morning I set out with the captain, sergeant, and 7 soldiers for the rancheria of Tacui; the others remained in the camp. After three leagues on the road we came to a water hole that comes from the Cajon that they call the de las Uvas. This aguaje empties in some plains, that are of the same kind as those of San Gabriel.

W Spelling in copy in Bancroft Library: Facui; Priestley: "Modern Tecuya?"

B Priestley: "Modern Uvas Creek."

In these plains the aguaje carries enough water for two irrigation ditches; the other side of the Cajon de las Uvas there is a mountain which has many pine trees. The rancheria of Tacui is one league from this waterhole in a canada. The rancheria contained 23 people. We baptized 2 old women . . . We reached camp at sunset.

July 30.--Passed the day in camp.

July 31.--We set out at four in the afternoon with road to the N. After 4 leagues we stopped to pass the night. These 4 leagues have been nothing but plains with some grass but no water tonight.

August 1.--At daybreak we began our journey to the N. After 5 leagues we came to the rancheria of the two rivers or Yaguel- [61] ame. The rivers that we saw are two that are close to the rancheria. The first stretches 16 varas [44 feet] from one side to the other and is 1 vara [2-3/4 ft.] in depth. Near this is the other which is regularly 7 varas [19 ft.] from one side to the other and a third as deep. These rivers come from a large river that comes out of a mountain. This large river is divided into two rivers and another that goes on the other side, which the Indians say is smaller and at times is dry. These two rivers form the lake of the Tulares. Three leagues from this rancheria the rivers unite and form the lake. In these three leagues there is a great wood of cottonwoods. All the land through which we have gone this morning is nitrous,

✓ Priestley: "About the site of Bakersfield."

✓ Priestley: "Kern River and possibly Cottonwood Creek or perhaps 2 channels of the Kern."

and level plains with some grass. ^{The} cottonwood forest was sufficient small wood and pasture. To the N of the rancheria there is nothing but bare hills. Two days travel from this rancheria is the nation of Pelones [bald] Indians which is composed of 13 rancherias and [62] these are to the N of this rancheria. In the rancheria I counted 92 men of from 7 to 40 years, and from that infer that the rancheria of the two lomenas rivers has about 200 people. All of these rancherias offer to become Christians and it would be easy to found Missions in these lands. The chiefs promised to be the first Christians and some of them asked me why we waited so long to found missions in their country. They all appear to be good people, showing themselves good-hearted. Several of the Indians came with our company to show us the roads and to help us in any way we asked them to. Two days travel from the rancheria of the rivers, the Indians say that in the four directions Indian rancherias are to be found.

August 2.--This morning set out from the rancheria of the rivers toward the S. After 3 leagues we stopped. The Indians say that from the Colorado River from the rancheria called Majagua Indians continually come to trade with them. They are 10 days on the road and do not find any water on the way.

August 3.--Set out at 2 in the afternoon and traveling S all the afternoon passed by the point of the lake and a league further [63] on stopped for the night. All the country that we have traveled this afternoon has been immense plains that have some pasture so that from the point of the lake to the rivers a thousand head of cattle could be well maintained.

August 4.--In the morning we set out toward the S. After 4 leagues we entered the cajon where years before the Indians killed two soldiers. At the entrance to this cajon an arroyo of water comes out that has as much water as the arroyo of San Gabriel. Soon afterwards we found a rancheria of 5 houses called Taslupi but at present there were no Indians in it. This arroyo waters some plains which are sandy and somewhat gravelly. The water has some saltpeter, but not enough to make it undrinkable. We traveled part of the morning and afternoon through this cajon. This [64] cajon is 5 leagues from the point of the lake and as many from that of Buenavista, and 7 from that of the rivers. Adjacent to the cajon is a mountain well-covered with pines.

August 5.--This morning I set out with the Lieutenant and some soldiers to look for water which the Lieutenant had seen at another time. We traveled all the morning and part of the afternoon going through a forest of pine and bad traveling, and still at 2 P.M. the water was very far away for we had to cross another mountain before getting to the water. The beasts were tired. The weather was stormy with thunder, hail, and rain, so we decided to return to our camp, abandoning the search for water.

August 6.--At daybreak we started on the road to the E through all this cajon¹. In the afternoon we came to a little ditch with a small quantity of water. This cajon is surrounded by pines on all sides

¹Priestley: Tejon Pass.

Zavidea 12

suitable for planting or for pasture in its vicinity. In the afternoon we traveled 6 leagues through hills (66) and had no water on the way.

August 11.-- In the morning we set out toward the E and after 7 leagues came to the rancheria of Atongai. A league and a half from this rancheria there is a marsh with a great deal of water. The land is wet enough for grain. There are some pine trees near the rancheria. It is said that the rancheria contains 32 men, 36 women and 15 children. Four leagues from this rancheria is the rancheria of Guapiabit where we remained for the night.

August 12.-- Today we rested in the rancheria of Guapiabit. This rancheria has 19 men, 16 women and 11 children. We baptized 2 old men and three old women in this rancheria. . Two leagues from this rancheria there is a hill covered with pine and in the vicinity of the rancheria there is a little spring of water and moist land that is suitable for planting. To the S of this rancheria beyond the mountains there is a rancheria of Indians. In the rancheria of Atongai we baptized 2 old men and 3 old women. . .

August 13.-- This morning we set out from the rancheria of Guapiabit toward the W, and after 4 leagues came to the rancheria of Moscopiabit. We saw in it 15 or 18 gentiles

Priestley: "Atongai, Amuscopiabit and Guapiabit are villages mentioned in Father Nuez' diary of an expedition to the Amajabas or Mojaves in 1819, lying in or near Cajón Pass, hence it is certain that Father Zalvidea's party did not, as stated by Bancroft and Englehardt, cross the San Gabriel range, but made its way around it by way of Cajón Pass."

August 7.-- This morning I set out with the Sergeant and 7 soldiers for the rancheria of ¹Casteque. We found no Indians because they were out getting Guata.

August 8.-- In the morning we began our journey to the E. After 4 leagues we saw a little ditch of water (65) and in its vicinity there was land with some pasture. In the afternoon we entered an extensive valley² and went for about 7 leagues through plains and then camped for the night in this valley without any water.

August 9.-- In the morning we traveled³ ^{toward the east} all through the valley, which is 16 leagues long and in all this extent we did not find any watering places. Beyond this valley is the mountain of San Gabriel. In the afternoon we traveled 2 leagues and stopped to sleep near a ditch full of water. The arroyo is not sufficient for planting the land. Near this arroyo we saw two little houses where there were 6 Indians for the purpose of their harvests of Guata.

August 10.-- After Mass we set out on our journey and traveled all this day through some hills that adjoin the mountains of San Gabriel. At midday we saw remains of rancheria, some springs of water, and a league from these springs we found an arroyo full of water, but I saw no land

Priestley: ¹Modern Castac, in region of lake, not the town farther S
²doubtless Antelope Valley;
³Sierra Madre range.

and some little children. We baptized 2 old women . . .
4 leagues from this rancheria we saw a rancheria of
5 houses that no one lived in and two leagues from this
rancheria there was a large arroyo^h which as I was told
empties into the Santa Ana River. We passed the night
a short distance from this arroyo.

August 14.--This morning we set out in the same
direction as yesterday. Two leagues from where we set
out we met a very old Indian (whom they baptized). I
do not know to what rancheria he belonged. He said he
lived with another Indian and I could find out nothing
else. Four leagues from the place where we slept we [68]
found an arroyo with plenty of water, sufficient to plant
the land. Two leagues farther on we found another with
about the same water as the last. Near this water is the
rancheria of Guapiana. Here there were several little
children from San Gabriel. We baptized an old woman and
an old man. This night we reached San Gabriel.

Fr. José Ma. de Zalvidea.

The above is a free translation of Zalvidea's diary,
leaving out only such unimportant details as the Spanish
names given to the Indians whom they baptized.--S. R. Clemence,
September 1917.

^h Priestley: Lytle Creek.

S.M. Zalvidea - exped. to Buena
vista Lake 1806

ZALVIDEA'S EXPEDITION INLAND TO BUENA VISTA LAKE, 1806

In 1806 Padre José Maria Zalvidea went on an expedition from Santa Barbara and Santa Ynez Missions inland to Buena Vista Lake for the purpose of getting better acquainted with the country and Indians. He visited the rancherias of Atongai, Buenavista, Casteque, Cuia, Gecp, Guapiana, Guapiabit, Jalihuilimu, Jonatas, Lisahua, Malapoa or Napolea, Moscopiabit, Oldmosoug, Saca, Sgene, Sicuicon, Sisupistu, Taqui, Taslupi, and Yaguëlame.

The following is a translation made in 1917 from a MS copy of Zalvidea's diary in the Bancroft Library:

"Diario de una expedicion tierra adentro," 1806.

Arch. Sta. Barbara, Vol. IV, pp. 49-68, 1806-1821.

It was carefully compared with the original diary at the Mission of Santa Barbara, a 4-page quarto entitled: "Diario del P. José Ma. de Zalvidea desde el 19 de Jul. hasta el 14 de Agosto de 1806." Typographical errors in rancheria names in the copy of the diary in the Bancroft Library are given in footnotes to this translation.

Dr. H. I. Priestley in an article on Expeditions sent out from California missions (in galley proof, not published) gives an abstract of this expedition and his identifications of localities are here given in footnotes.

Dr. Priestley says: "The diary kept by Father Zalvidea is hard to follow, as he measures his leagues short and marches only on the cardinal points of the compass. Careful study of the document, comparing the place names with some still existing, shows the route to have been much more southerly than thought by Bancroft. By measurement and description he could not have gone as far north as the Visalia country, and the lake which he visited, the 'Laguna de los Tulares', was Buenavista and not Tulare Lake."

Bancroft's abstract is given in his Hist. of Calif., Vol. II, pp. 48-50, 1886.

Diary of P. Jose Ma. de Zalvidea from July 19-August 14, 1806.

July 19.--Set out from Santa Barbara; arrived at mission of Santa Inez. [50]

July 20.--Set out from Sta. Inez toward the N; after 3 leagues found remains of the rancheria called Jonatas¹; another 3 leagues from this rancheria is found the rancheria of Saca² whose Indians are Christians of Santa Inez; 5 leagues from this rancheria came to another called Olòmosong³ of 3 houses. There live in this rancheria 2 old women and 4 young women with their chief. Baptized in this rancheria two old women, 1 of 80 years, and the other of 70, the first with the name of Maria Dominga and the second Maria Geronima.

July 21.--Set out from the rancheria of Olòmosong³ toward the N, and after 4 leagues came to rancheria of 5 houses in which lived 4 men and 7 women. In this rancheria named Geep we baptized 2 old women of 80 and 90 years, the first we called Ma. Josefa and the other Josefa Ma. This day my interpreter returned because of illness and left me supplied with one from San Fernando. All the road has been broken today by a little arroyo⁴ of no consideration. We [51]

¹ Spelled Ionatas in copy in Bancroft Library; Priestley says probably near modern Jonata.

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July 22.--Traveled with road to N. The first of our journey we had to go over a mountain of very bad road then we came out on some plains¹ and after two leagues we found the rancheria of Jalihuilimú², where we baptized three old women; the first of 60 years we found with a useless leg and gave her the name of Ma. Magdalena. This old woman had a son at Sta. Inez. The second was 65 years old and had her waist bitten by a bear. We named her Maria Marta. [51]

She had a Christian son at Purisima. The third whom we baptized was more than 100 years old and was given the name Ma. Francisca. The rancheria had 25 gentile people. After midday we traveled on; toward the E after 6 leagues more we found the rancheria of Lisahua. It was a rancheria of 28 gentile people of whom we made 5 Christians: 4 very old women with hair entirely gray and 1 old man. We gave the [52]
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July 23.--Set out from the rancheria of Lisahua, taking the road to the E, and after 4 leagues we found a rancheria called Cuia of 9 houses, which was composed of 14 men, 19 women and 8 infants, all gentiles. In it we baptized 5 old women and 2 old men. Near the rancheria there were three

¹Priestley: Valley of Cuyama River.

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little waterholes that did not contain much water. The land is arid, nitrous, and there is no wood in the neighborhood. Four leagues to the S of this rancheria is the rancheria of Siguicon¹. This rancheria had 16 men and 19 women and some children. We baptized 2 old women, one more than 100 years old, the other 70. In these last two rancherias there [53] were two little water-holes. The land is dry and nitrous and there are not many trees in the neighborhood. We returned to sleep at the rancheria of Lisahua.

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¹Spelling in copy in Bancroft Library: Siguecin.

and on some neighboring hills there is pasture. In the ranchito I baptized 5 women and 1 old man . . . At a league from the ranchito I saw a sierra covered with pine growth.

July 25.--Traveled N and after 8 leagues found the rancheria of Buena Vista, which has 36 men and 144 women and 38 children, according to what the Indians say. This rancheria is on the shore of a lake, 8 leagues long and 5 leagues wide. The Indians cross the lake on balsas (rafts). This lake has its origin in a large river that divides into three branches, all these rivers uniting to form the lake. At the rancheria of Buena Vista baptized one old woman . . . [55] The Indians say that a day and a half of travel from Buena Vista there is a pass by the other side of the lake. We passed the night 2 leagues away from Buena Vista.

July 26.--Traveled E by the shore of the lake until midday. After midday we traveled to the N. in the morning we went through broad plains. The land is nitrous in quality. All that corresponds to the shore of the lake has much tule. In the rest and in the mountains bordering the plains traveled yesterday there is neither grass nor water. After midday we traveled to the N through some outstretching plains, which we found had some grass. At evening we arrived at the rancheria at the point of the lake called Sisupistu. In our company there ~~were~~ several Indians from the rancheria of Buena Vista. When they saw these Indians coming, those in the

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rancheria at the point of the lake came out from their rancheria to a tule that is in its vicinity. We found the Indians turbulent. They shot an arrow at the chief of Buenavista. The reason for this was the coming of the Indians from Buenavista, who were their enemies, of all of which we were ignorant. In order to learn at once the reason for this disturbance I parleyed with the chief of the rancheria of Sisupistu and made him understand that we came to be their friends; that we did not know that the Indians of Buenavista were their enemies. I called to the two hostile chiefs and made them friends and immediately all were appeased. We slept in sight of the rancheria and the Indians of Buenavista were in our camp all night. In order that there might be no disturbance among the Indians I took away the bows and arrows that the Indians from Buena Vista carried. The night passed without incident. The next morning I gave back their arms and after having presented them to the Indians of Buena Vista ordered them to go back to their rancheria (which they did) and persuaded both rancherias to be peaceful and both chiefs gave me their word that they would not fight again. I saw in this rancheria of Sisupistu about 50 or 60 men and some women, but as at this time the greater part of the Indians are gathering seeds, I cannot ascertain the exact number of Indians in each rancheria for although on the other hand I question them, they do not usually tell the truth. I counted the houses of the Indians of this rancheria and there are 28, from which

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July 28.--This morning set out with the lieutenant and some soldiers to explore the land and watering places that there are about the camp. A quarter of a league after we set out we found an arroyo full of good water. A gunshot's distance from the arroyo is a hill well covered with oaks and live oaks. This arroyo runs through a bit of land good for planting. A quarter of an hour from this arroyo there is a little arroyo that has a proportionate amount of land good for planting. This little arroyo could support two irrigation ditches. Going on a half a league away from this arroyo there is another which at its source has twice as much water as the last, but this ends after a little distance. Going by this arroyo so-called, I saw another

which runs between two hills and has no appreciable amount of land for planting. Besides these arroyos there is another that has excellent lands for planting and could supply an irrigation ditch. There are also some little marshes in the vicinity. The location of the place explored this morning is as follows: From N to S there are hills and heights that form a half circle; distant 7 leagues from the point of the lake. Its plains are much greater than those of the mission of Santa Clara. All this land is covered with a kind of growth that has a little branch and produces a yellow flower. ^{There is no timber except small wood.} All the hills surrounding the land have grass although it does not amount to much. Because of the great extent of the plains they could very well support 12,000 head of cattle. In the neighborhood of this site there is a mountain covered with pine growth. The site of our camp is called Tupai. Beyond the mountain [60] to the N it is said there are some Indian rancherias.

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July 30.--Passed the day in camp.

July 31.--We set out at four in the afternoon with road to the N. After 4 leagues we stopped to pass the night. These 4 leagues have been nothing but plains with some grass but no water tonight.

August 1.--At daybreak we began our journey to the N. After 5 leagues we came to the rancheria of the two rivers or Yaguël- [61] ame.¹ The rivers that we saw are two that are close to the rancheria. The first stretches 16 varas [44 feet] from one side to the other and is 1 vara [2-3/4 ft.] in depth. Near this is the other which is regularly 7 varas [19 ft.] from one side to the other and a third as deep.² These rivers come from a large river that comes out of a mountain. This large river is divided into two rivers and another that goes on the other side, which the Indians say is smaller and at times is dry. These two rivers form the lake of the Tulares. Three leagues from this rancheria the rivers unite and form the lake. In these three leagues there is a great wood of cottonwoods. All the land through which we have gone this morning is nitrous,

¹ Priestley: "About the site of Bakersfield."

² Priestley: "Kern River and possibly Cottonwood Creek or perhaps 2 channels of the Kern."

and level plains with some grass. / ^{The} cottonwood forest has sufficient small wood and pasture. To the N of the rancheria there is nothing but bare hills. Two days travel from this rancheria is the nation of Pelones [bald] Indians which is composed of 13 rancherias and [62] these are to the N of this rancheria. In the rancheria I counted 92 men of from 7 to 40 years, and from that infer that the rancheria of the two lomenas rivers has about 300 people. All of these rancherias offer to become Christians and it would be easy to found Missions in these lands. The chiefs promised to be the first Christians and some of them asked me why we waited so long to found missions in their country. They all appear to be good people, showing themselves good-hearted. Several of the Indians came with our company to show us the roads and to help us in any way we asked them to. Two days travel from the rancheria of the rivers, the Indians say that in the four directions Indian rancherias are to be found.

August 2.--This morning set out from the rancheria of the rivers toward the S. After 3 leagues we stopped. The Indians say that from the Colorado River from the rancheria called Majagua Indians continually come to trade with them. They are 10 days on the road and do not find any water on the way.

August 3.--Set out at 2 in the afternoon and traveling S all the afternoon passed by the point of the lake and a league further [63] on stopped for the night. All the country that we have traveled this afternoon has been immense plains that have some pasture so that from the point of the lake to the rivers a thousand head of cattle could be well maintained.

August 4.--In the morning we set out toward the S. After 4 leagues we entered the cajon where years before the Indians killed two soldiers. At the entrance to this cajon an arroyo of water comes out that has as much water as the arroyo of San Gabriel. Soon afterwards we found a rancheria of 5 houses called Taslupi but at present there were no Indians in it. This arroyo waters some plains which are sandy and somewhat gravelly. The water has some saltpeter, but not enough to make it undrinkable. We traveled part of the morning and afternoon through this cajon. This [64] cajon is 5 leagues from the point of the lake and as many from that of Buenavista, and 7 from that of the rivers. Adjacent to the cajon is a mountain well-covered with pines.

August 5.--This morning I set out with the Lieutenant and some soldiers to look for water which the Lieutenant had seen at another time. We traveled all the morning and part of the afternoon going through a forest of pine and bad traveling, and still at 2 P.M. the water was very far away for we had to cross another mountain before getting to the water. The beasts were tired. The weather was stormy with thunder, hail, and rain, so we decided to return to our camp, abandoning the search for water.

August 6.--At daybreak we started on the road to the E through all this cajon.^A In the afternoon we came to a little ditch with a small quantity of water. This cajon is surrounded by pines on all sides

^APriestley: Tejon Pass.

Zavidea 12

suitable for planting or for pasture in its vicinity. In the afternoon we traveled 6 leagues through hills (66) and had no water on the way.

August 11.-- In the morning we set out toward the E and after 7 leagues came to the rancheria of Atongai. A league and a half from this rancheria there is a marsh with a great deal of water. The land is wet enough for grain. There are some pine trees near the rancheria. It is said that the rancheria contains 32 men, 36 women, and 15 children. Four leagues from this rancheria is the rancheria of Guapiabit where we remained for the night.

August 12.-- Today we rested in the rancheria of Guapiabit. This rancheria has 19 men, 16 women, and 11 children. We baptized 2 old men and three old women in this rancheria. . Two leagues from this rancheria there is a hill covered with pine and in the vicinity of the rancheria there is a little spring of water and moist land that is suitable for planting. To the S of this rancheria ~~beyond the mountains~~ there is a rancheria of Indians. In the rancheria of Atongai we baptized 2 old men and 3 old women. . .

August 13.-- This morning we set out from the rancheria [67] of Guapiabit toward the W, and after 4 leagues came to the rancheria of Moscopiabit. We saw in it 15 or 18 gentiles

Priestley: "Atongai, Amuscopiabit and Guapiabit are villages mentioned in Father Nuez' diary of an expedition to the Amajabas or Mojaves in 1819, lying in or near Cajón Pass, hence it is certain that Father Zalvidea's party did not, as stated by Bancroft and Englehardt, cross the San Gabriel range, but made its way around it by way of Cajón Pass."

August 7.-- This morning I set out with the Sergeant and 7 soldiers for the rancheria of ^vCasteque. We found no Indians because they were out getting Guata.

August 8.-- In the morning we began our journey to the E. After 4 leagues we saw a little ditch of water (65) and in its vicinity there was land with some pasture. In the afternoon we entered an extensive valley¹² and went for about 7 leagues through plains and then camped for the night in this valley without any water.

August 9.-- In the morning we traveled all through the valley, which is 16 leagues long and in all this extent we did not find any watering places. Beyond this valley is the mountain of San Gabriel.³ In the afternoon we traveled 2 leagues and stopped to sleep near a ditch full of water. The arroyo is not sufficient for planting the land. Near this arroyo we saw two little houses where there were 6 Indians for the purpose of their harvests of Guata.

August 10.-- After Mass we set out on our journey and traveled all this day through some hills that adjoin the mountains of San Gabriel. At midday we saw remains of rancheria, some springs of water, and a league from these springs we found an arroyo full of water, but I saw no land

Priestley:¹Modern Castac, in region of lake, not the town farther S
²doubtless Antelope Valley;
³Sierra Madre range.

and some little children. We baptized 2 old women . . . 4 leagues from this rancheria we saw a rancheria of 5 houses that no one lived in and two leagues from this rancheria there was a large arroyo¹ which as I was told empties into the Santa Ana River. We passed the night a short distance from this arroyo.

August 14.--This morning we set out in the same direction as yesterday. Two leagues from where we set out we met a very old Indian (whom they baptized). I do not know to what rancheria he belonged. He said he lived with another Indian and I could find out nothing else. Four leagues from the place where we slept we [68] found an arroyo with plenty of water, sufficient to plant the land. Two leagues farther on we found another with about the same water as the last. Near this water is the rancheria of Guapiana. Here there were several little children from San Gabriel. We baptized an old woman and an old man. This night we reached San Gabriel.

Fr. Jose' Ma. de Zalvidea.

The above is a free translation of Zalvidea's diary, leaving out only such unimportant details as the Spanish names given to the Indians whom they baptized.--S. R. Clemence, September 1917.

¹ Priestley: . Lytle Creek.

E Martinez 1866

Martinez, Entrada á las Rancherias del Tular, 1816, MS.

The party started from San Luis Obispo and visited the following rancherias: Lucluc, 28 leagues; Tuohuala, 9 l.; Gelecto, 18 l.; Lihuanhilame, 19 l.; Quihuame, 7 l. on the bank of a great river not crossed, which flows into the lakes of Buenavista, Tuohuala, and Gelecto. Telame, or Telammi, is also mentioned but was not visited. Tuohuala was called also Hubal (Bubal?).--Verbatim footnote in Bancroft, Hist.Calif., II, 327, 1885.

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L. A. Martinez - exped from San Luis
Obispo to Tularos 1816

MARTINEZ: EXPEDITION FROM SAN LUIS OBISPO TO TULARES, 1816

Translation of Father Luis Antonio Martinez's Report of his Expedition to the Rancherias of the Tular, 1816. From a copy or abstract of Martinez's letter to Father Francisco Sarria in the Bancroft Library.

"May 29, 1816. San Luis Obispo. Fr. Luis Antonio Martinez to R. P. Com^o Prefecto Fr. V. Francisco de Sarria.

Reporting that the people that he met on his journey were unreasonable, and that they preferred their unhappy condition to any benefits that could be offered them outside their homes. [42]

That the rancheria of Lucluc was 28 leagues from his mission [San Luis Obispo] on the border of the plain from there to Tuohuala. That from there he went to Tuohuala, about 9 leagues; from there 18 leagues to Galecto; from there 19 leagues to Lihuauhilame; from there about 7 leagues to Quihuame. They [43] could go no further because here they found a large river running from N to S and from S to N, making a turn at the rancho, about 7 leagues from Télame. They could not cross it because it was so swift and rough. This is the river that feeds the lakes of Buenavista, Galecto, and Tuohuala. They found neither trees, nor stones, nor pasture. The river ends in Buenavista, and from there becomes lakes and swamps. On the edge of the plain there is a large poplar grove, very rough ground on sandy soil stretching for about a league in breadth.

Priestley: "This would place the village on the N side of the lake, whereas Zalvidea, 1806, indicated it on the south or southeastern side."

In Lucluc they found 50 Indians with their families. There [43]
after many entreaties they gave him a boy in exchange for whom
he gave his parents 2 blankets and some beads and meat.

They met the Indian Gabriel with 6 gentiles on the road and
accompanied him to a deserted rancheria where there was only an
old woman and a cripple who could not be carried to the tular.
He remained there 3 days, sending the Indians that he brought
with him to the tular so that the other Indians would return.
They brought him 10 families, whom he told not to be afraid;
that he was going to make them know the true God. As soon as
he gathered 70 armed men, they fled in the night to the Tular
and those that remained told him that it was the fault of a [44]
certain Chape and an old man, and that they had abandoned the
rancheria because they told them that we wanted to make an end
of them.

From there they all went to the rancheria of Gelecto, which
they found had all, except the cemetery, been destroyed by wars.

From there they went on to Telamni. When they reached
Lihauhilami the great, they found that they had had a great
skirmish the day before, resulting in the death of 8 men, among
them the elder son of Quipaguces. For this reason they were
frightened, fearing vengeance. Their chief sent to ask if he
was going to do anything to them; and he answered that they
were not to be afraid; that he would prevent any danger coming
to them. The chief told him to establish his camp near his
rancheria, which consisted of about 300 families. He said that
he went and was well received. When I went on, 3 of them con-
descended to be pleased to go with me.

When they arrived at the rancheria of Quihuama, the chief had [45] posted people in the grove, and as soon as he dismounted they all fled from the grove without our being able to speak to anyone.

Being about 6 leagues from Télame, he determined to return to the rancheria of Thuohuala, or Hubal in the migueleña language. This rancheria was deserted. They had gone to the one they call Pusas. I sent Indians to call them, but they received them with darts, and our Indians returned the fire and made 3 prisoners, two women and one man. They cried "kill the coast people" and as a result that rancheria was burned. One of their Indians started off slightly wounded. Two horses were shot, and one, a saddle horse was stolen. This rancheria ought to be punished.

He noted on his expedition very poor water and neither stone nor wood, excepting on the plain of the river, which was covered with poplars and willows, but the land, like the other, was very sandy. "

Martinez, Fr. Luis Antonio. Entrada en las Rancherias del Tular, 1816. MS copy or Abstract in Archivo del Arzobispado, Cartos de los Misioneros de California, Tom III, pp. 42-5, 1772-1817. Extracts made for Bancroft Library, 1876.

Note: The MS from which this translation was made was written partly in the first, and partly in the third, as translated.

The original of this report is said to be in San Francisco in the records of the Archbishop.

Dr. H. I. Priestley in an account of Expeditions sent out from California Missions (galley proof, unpublished) gives an abstract of this report and his notes on identification of locations are here given in footnotes.

An abstract of Martinez's report is given in Bancroft, Hist. of Calif., II, p. 337 footnote, 1885.

Payeras - 1822 - Monterey to Ft. Ross

Monterey to Russian settlement Ross.

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Payaras, Noticias sobre Ross. Diario de la Caminata que emprendio. . . en union del Sr Comisionado del Imperio . . .

1822, MS. The route with names was as follows: Oct. 11th, Monterey to Rancho Nacional, formerly Del Rey, or San Pedro. Oct. 12th, through the Canada de Natividad NE to San Juan Bautista, where Sunday was spent. Oct. 14th, 3 l. NE to rancho of M.C. (Castro?); Laguna Seca; San Jose; Sta Clara. Oct. 15th, to San Francisquito 5 l. NW; 3 l. to Rancho de las Pulgas; 2 l. to San Mateo; 5 l. to El Portezuelo; 1 l. to Mission San Francisco. Oct. 16th - 18th, rested while horses were crossed over the bay. Oct. 19th, crossed from San Francisco to San Rafael in the lancha by rowing. Oct. 20th, 5 l. N to Sta Lucia de Olompali (written Onompali, on a former trip Alompali); 2 l. NW to Arroyo de San Antonio; 6 l. NW into the hills and Canada de San Vicente, with two springs. Oct. 21st, NW around two points of the Estero del Americano, over very steep hills, and south 1 l. to shore of Bodega Bay, 11 l. from San Vicente, where were two springs near the beach and two redwood houses built by the Russians; N along beach and over several hard hills to Arroyo Verde. Oct. 22d, 2 l. N to Rio de San Ignacio, so named by Arguello in his expedition of 1821, at a point about 13 l. further up (Russian River of course. See chap. xx this volume. There is some confusion not easily cleared up; but the 13 l. may be an underestimate); 1½ l. to Santa Maria Arroyo; to Ross, 6½ l. from Arroyo verde; arriving at 11 A.M. Oct. 24th at 8.30 A.M. sailed for Bodega, where the soldiers and horses were joined. No new names on

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See slips of Ordaz MS Diary of Arguello's expedition to the North in 1821, from pp. 446-449 of Volume II.

Payeras - 2

the return march. Oct.31st, they were at San Jose, and Nov.
2d reached San Juan Bautista.

--Verbatim footnote in Bancroft, Hist.Calif., II, 463-464,
1885.

Payeras, Noticias sobre Ross. Diario de la Caminata que emprendio. . . en union del Sr Comisionado del Imperio . . .

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Payeras - 2

the return march. Oct.31st, they were at San Jose, and Nov. 2d reached San Juan Bautista.

--Verbatim footnote in Bancroft, Hist.Calif., II, 463-464, 1885.

sanchez - historical

1821, 1829

SAN RAFAEL TO THE PETALUMA, SONOMA, NAPA, AND SUISUN VALLEYS.

Sanchez, ⁴⁹⁷ Diario de la Expedicion verificada con objeto de reconocer terrenos para la nueva planta de la Mision de San Francisco, 1823, MS.

Altimira, ⁴⁹⁷ Diario de la Expedicion, etc., MS. [Was translated by Alex.S. Taylor and published in Hutchings' Mag., v, 58-62, 115-18, as Journal of a mission-founding expedition north of San Francisco in 1823. Translation often inaccurate.]

"The diary is in substace as follows: June 26th, in the morning from S.Rafael, 5 leagues north to Olompali; in afternoon, north and round the head of the creek at the point called Chocuay (where the city of Petaluma now ⁴⁹⁸ stands, the main stream being apparently called Chocoiomi) to the little brook of Lema on the flat of the Petalumas, where a bear was killed, and where they passed the night with 8 or 10 Petalumas hiding there from their enemies of Libantilo-yami, or Libantiloquemi (the Libantiliyami ⁴⁹⁸ of chap. xx), 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ l.to the NW. (I think this Arroyito de Lema may have been some distance down the creek.)

"June 27th, over the plains and hills, eastward and north-eastward, past a small tule-lake 50x100 yards, and a little farther the large lake of Tolay, so named for the chief of the former inhabitants, one fourth of a league long by 150 or 200 yds. to $\frac{1}{2}$ league wide (perhaps they were as far south as the lake back of the modern Lakeville), and thence NE to the plain on which is the place called Sonoma, so called from the Indians formerly living there, camping on the

⁴⁹⁸ See slips of Ordaz MS Diary from pp. 446-449.

⁴⁹⁸ Each kept diary in very nearly same words; probably Sanchez used the Friar's MS in making out his narrative.

stream near the main creek, where a boat arrived the same day from S. Francisco. (Sonoma had probably been visited before.) Payeras in 1817 used the name of Sonoma as well as Petaluma. chap.xv. The arrival of the boat and also the mention of the name coming from former inhabitants point in the same direction though there is no definite record of any previous visit. This afternoon and the next forenoon they spent in exploring the valley.

"June 28th, in the afternoon they crossed over the hills north-eastward to the plain, or valley, of Napá (so accented in the original of Altimira), named for the former Indian inhabitants, and encamped on the stream (Napa Creek) which they named San Pedro for the day. A whitish earth on the borders of a warm spring thought to be valuable for cleansing purposes, and large herds of deer and antelope were noted on the way.

"June 29th, crossed over another range of hills into the plain 'of the Suisun,' so called like the other places from the former Indian inhabitants (generally called in earlier documents 'of the Suisunes' as the name of the Indians), camping on the main stream 5 l. from Napa, 10 l. from Sonoma, and 5 l. SW of the rancheria of the Hulatos. June 30th, killed 10 bears, and had some friendly intercourse with the Lybaitos. (In a letter of July 10th, Arch. Arzob., MS, iv, pt. ii, 23-6, Altimira gives more particulars of his conference with the Indians, by which it appears that the Lybaitos

✓ Mentions Sonoma Creek and the Llano de los Petalumas. - Payeras, *Noticia de un Viaje a San Rafael*, 1818, MS. [p. 331 of vol. II of Bancroft].

lived about 3 l.beyond [NE] the Hulatos, or Ulatos. The rancherias of the Chemocoytos, Sucuntos, and Ompines are mentioned in the same region.)

"July 1st, back to Napa and Sonoma with additional explorations of the latter valley. July 2d, up the valley and over the hills by a more northern route than before, past a tule lake, into the plain of the Petalumas, and to the old camping-ground on the Arroyo de Lema. July 3d, back by a direct course of 2 leagues to Sonoma, where after new explorations a site was chosen. July 4th, ceremonies of taking possession, and return to Olompali, 6 long leagues. July 5th, back to San Rafael and waited for the boat from Sonoma. July 6th, embarked at Point Tiburon and went to San Francisco before the wind."

--Verbatim footnote from Bancroft, Hist.Calif.,II,497-498, 1885.

Sanchez, Diario de la Caminata que hizo el P. Prefecto Payeras
en Union del P. Sanchez por la Sierra desde San Diego hasta
S. Gabriel, 1821, MS. Begun Sept. 10th, ended Oct. 1st. The
 route was as follows: From San Diego Mission, E to the mission
 rancheria of Sta Mónica or El Cajon, 5 l.; N 1 l. to Cañada
 del Arrastradero; ranch. Michegua; up the windings of the
 cañada E and N; branch cañada with ranch. Queptahua; into plain
 of Pamó with ranch. Canapui; by the valley, NE, and then E to
 ranch. Ballena, or Egepan; to Cañada of Sta Isabel, or Elcua-
nain, about 11 l. from Sta Mónica. Climbed the Sierra Madre
 E, past the mission's cattle range; could not see the Colorado
 with a good glass as was hoped; much description; back by the
 same road, into cañada of San Dieguito, where the mission had
 corn growing; ranch. Guichopa, Geonat, Tatayojai, and Elcuanam,
 or Sta Isabel; 450 Christians; cañada called Tamatia, or
Jamatai. Other rancherias in region of Sta Isabel, Mucucui,
Gelonopai, Egenal, Tegilque, Gecuar; about 200 gentiles; a
 cross was blessed with great ceremony at the chapel on Sept.
 15th. Payeras went 4 l. N to visit the hot spring of Jacopin,
 past Ajata or Las Llagas, and Buenavista Spring, all in or
 near San José Valley; N, partly by same route to Taqui, in a
 fine valley fitted for a mission, also called Guadalupe, 2.5
 l. from Sta. Isabel; 6 or 7 l. E of Sta Isabel are 10 rancherias
 with 450 souls. West down the Cañada to Potrero, or Caqui;
 to Pala, or San Antonio; about 3 l. N and E to Temécula; W and
 N to spring of San Isidro; Sta Gertrudis; San Jacinto, or
Jaguara, a ranch. of San Luis Rey, some 11 l. from Temécula.

SANCHEZ DIARY OF HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST ESTANISLAO, 1829

The following is a translation of José Sanchez's diary of the campaign which he led against the Indians under the noted chief Estanislao in 1829, from the original manuscript in the Huntington Collection of the Bancroft Library:

May 1. - I set out from the Presidio with a captain and 8 soldiers of cavalry and a captain and 2 soldiers of artillery taking with them two arrobas [=50 pounds] of powder and a thousand balls. Today we traveled as far as Santa Clara Mission where we arrived at 8 o'clock at night and passed the remainder of the night without event.

May 2 - I set out with the same force of troops for the Mission of San Jose, leaving there those named who were to set out to join me as soon as they saw those from the mission of Santa Cruz. And at the same time having asked the aid of the Alcalde and Captain of Militia, they were notified that according to the time they had started they would meet them on the third. We arrived at the mission at about 11 A.M. and immediately set ourselves at the task of preparing cartridges.

May 3 - Today Capt. Lazaro Pina with the two artillerymen took the cartridges; and the captain of the guard of Santa Clara joined the party together with 6 soldiers of the guard and two from the mission of Santa Cruz, 7 militiamen, and 5 citizens, of whom 5 citizens and a militiaman returned because they had no horses on which to travel, so there remained 6 militiamen.

May 4. - I marched with 25 men of the cavalry, a captain and 2 artillery veterans, 6 militia-men, and 70 Indian aids as far as the place called Las Pocitas del Valle, where 6 head of cattle were killed for the troop and Indians, and we passed the night without event.

May 5. - At daybreak I ordered a captain with 8 men to set out for the crossing of the San Joaquin River to note if any of the insurgents came to watch and to see if the capturing of them was succeeding, because they gave no news. At 9 A.M. I set out with the other troops and traveled until 7 that night, when we arrived a little below the Laguna del Blanco which is a little below the crossing of San Joaquin River, where we rejoined those who had set out before, and passed the night without event.

May 6. - In the morning the same Captain with 8 men and Indian aids set out for the crossing where they were to make rafts and to note if any came to watch. At 8 I set out with the party and at about 10 we began to cross over and this done we stayed there the remainder of the day, in order not to be seen by any who might be passing there, until 6 in the afternoon when we started and traveled all night until daybreak.

May 7. - A little before daybreak, when the guide said that we were already near, I ordered 4 of the aids to explore and seeing that daylight was approaching I undertook the march and after a little I met the scouts who said that the insurgents were in the

same place, at which I immediately ordered that 3 divisions be formed, one to remain in charge of the beasts and of the other stores, and another for the outside to search for the river of the Laquisimes which runs through the middle of the forest where the rebels are, and the other to the foot of the range. Putting myself at the head of the last division, I went through the forest until we came to the river, whose crossing prevented us from going on, where we were when we heard the cry on the other side of the river and some gun-shots, at which I ordered a return by the same road or direction to look for the horses which remained at about three-quarters of a league's distance from us. From there we pursued our course up the river in search of a crossing which we were to find in about a league, and in about a quarter of a league of the return down the river we came up with our companions who were shooting with the insurgents, but the latter always kept in the shelter in the forest. I immediately ordered the little cannon to be taken out and to be fired at those who were approaching the shore, after exhortations had been made to them, of which they showed no appreciation but began making threats. At the first shot a wheel broke and so they fired two others, and the Captain of the artillery having made certain that the first was useless, I ordered them to withdraw it and to fire only with the carbines, and observing that they did little or no damage to the enemy and that the day was passing and the troops had not broken fast, I ordered the retreat to encamp myself. At some thousand varas [=2750 feet] from where the rancheria was I made camp, to which

the Chief Estanislao came through the forest, talking with the Christians on the other side of the river, and having seen that he was talking I set out for the edge of the forest telling him that if he would come with me, nothing should be done to him. While we were talking, another one called Sabulon came and fired a shot from the forest, and they immediately retreated and did not return again. And we remained there the rest of the day and all night without event.

May 8 - As soon as it was daybreak I ordered the troops to form in 6 divisions: one of 6 men to look out for the beasts and other stores; three to enter the forest, each composed of a captain and 6 soldiers, well warned that no one was to separate himself from his division, and that when they were within, the three should manage to reunite, and if anyone was going on ahead of the others, he should wait; that all formed in flanks that they should advance on the enemy conformably, that they were not to shoot from one and another site; that they always manage to go together, with the aids at their backs to prevent the enemy from harming them in the rear; and the two others by the flanks of the forest in order to prevent the enemy from flight by one of them when they were attacked from within the forest, and warned that all must obey the captains who led them, although without one for the whole body, in order that in this way they might keep the best order. The troop being prepared to enter the forest, I put myself at the head and at about 8 varas

[- 22 feet] from the rancheria, I ordered a halt to see if it was necessary to shed blood. And I went on approaching as close as possible, making them understand through the interpreter that the troop was going to enter the forest and that those that wanted to escape from being killed must come with me and that I would not kill them; that they ought to understand that they were Christians and ought to be in their mission. To these exhortations Estanislao made answer that he was not at fault in what he had done, that he had some one to advise him what to do and how to defend himself, and that he would always die in the forest. Then I said if there was any gentile chief, I wanted to speak with him and for him to come out. And one immediately came out to the shore to where he could see that troop that was going to enter, and I told him that unless they wanted to get into danger that they must separate themselves from the Christians, who were the ones that I was seeking in order that they might come to their mission; and that if they aided them, then I would punish them. Then this one spoke with other chiefs and 12 chiefs came out, and having spoken with all of them, they told me that they would not meddle in anything, but that they were afraid of Estanislao and Cipriano. And I told them not to be afraid and they set out and went away to their rancherias. But as the Christians also spoke to them they gave more heed to them, and they joined them again which was to me the indispensable confirmation for the entrance of the troops. About 8 in the morning I ordered the advance as it had already been ordered, each division in its appointed

place, in order to seize the fleeing ones. After three hours of shooting, an Indian aide came and told me that four of the soldiers were cut off from one of the divisions. Then I went through the forest where I heard the shooting and the first men I met were Capt. Jose Barryeza and Captain of Artillery, Lazaro Pina, whom I ordered to go in search of the 4 men who it was said were found alone fighting with the Indians. Verifying this immediately and alone, they returned with two of them almost killed; and one of them, Manuel Pena, reported that Ygnacio Pacheco had been killed by the Indians for he was behind them and found one of the Indians who said we wanted to kill an Indian, and at this incident turned around and already saw him fall. And he fired a shot and killed one of those who followed them, and he saw Andres Mesa jump out on one side and saw nothing more. Some of the aids immediately set out saying that they had seen one killed, stripped and thrown into the river, and that they had also seen another killed and naked within the forest and that the latter was Ygnacio Pacheco. Then all of the people being without, one of the rebels set out for the edge of the forest saying that they had already killed two soldiers. At this one of the soldiers said no, that they were mistaken, that they were not killing the soldiers, and then the Indians went down, and immediately three of them set out, one with the leather jacket, another with the shield, and another with a club, all three belonging to the soldier Mesa.

Then while I was arranging and ordering a new expedition in search of these two men who were missing, together with some aids, the soldier Dolores Pacheco spoke to me saying that all we could accomplish was to remove the two bodies already lifeless and that the troop was tired and without munitions; that from the plunder that had been taken from them they had not been left alive; that the aids that were missing had already been seen on the other shore of the river by the band we were accompanying. Captain Lazaron Pina being present described the way in which these 4 soldiers had separated themselves from the division, saying that he was with his division in the forest, and as it was so dense and as all his attention was on the enemy, he did not notice when Andres Mesa withdrew, but he did see when Manuel Pena and Lorenzo Pacheco left his side, and as he found himself now alone loading Ygnacio Pacheco's gun, he ordered them loudly not to withdraw and to come back; and that then having received message from Capt. Reyes, who was calling him, he tried to unite with him, which they then accomplished, and that from here as they were too greatly pressed by the enemy, he did not notice where Ygnacio Pacheco, Manuel Pena, and Lorenzo Pacheco had withdrawn, and these said that they were in sight of Capt. Reyes and Capt. Lazaro. An Indian aid told them that Andres Mesa remained cut off and that then without speaking to the captains they went to look for him and found him, and then all four went away to the bank of the river; and that there they drank water and were fastening their shoes, and while they were going away from there they met the mob of rebels and it was then they were lanced.

All this story they told in the camp, and afterward having looked over the munitions and inspected the arms, I found very little remained -- 6 spoiled carbines and a gun burst, 8 men of the troop wounded, and 3 of them severely, and 11 Indian aids. We had seen nothing of the enemy except the 8 dead, for it was impossible to see them in the underbrush so thick everywhere. Hence I decided to withdraw to the Mission of San Jose, not only because of lack of arms and munitions, but also because it was not possible to make another sally under the great difficulties mentioned.

Broke camp about 3 in the afternoon carrying three wounded, with one man across the horse, because they could only cross on horses. Traveled until about 7 which brought us about quarter of a league away from where we set out in a watering-place that there was near the river of the Laquisemes, and here we spent the night uneventfully.

We set out at about 8 in the morning and arrived at the ford of the San Joaquin River at about 2 in the afternoon and immediately began to ferry across the beasts and the rest, and having finished, we traveled as far as Laguna del Blanco which is a little below the ford, already on the land of the mission of San Jose, where we spent the night without event.

May. 10. We set out at about 7 in the morning and traveled until 6 in the afternoon when we arrived at San Jose Mission.

San Jose Mission, May 11, 1829.

Jose Sanchez.

Diario que forma el Mo. Grado. de Exto. C. Jose Sanchez de la Expedicion en persecucion de los Indios subleados de los Misiones de San Jose y Santa Clara.

PAYERAS & SANCHEZ: EXPEDITION FROM SAN DIEGO TO SAN GABRIEL, 1821

In 1821 Fathers Sanchez and Payeras went on an expedition searching for mission sites from San Diego to San Gabriel Mission by way of Santa Isabel Valley and San Luis Rey. Father Sanchez kept a diary of the expedition in which he mentions the following rancherias: Ajata or Las Llagas, Ajuenga, Canapui, Cuqui, or Potrero, Egenal, Egepam or Ballena, Elcuanam, Gacuar, Gelonopai, Geonat, Guachinga or San Bernardino, Guichopa, Jacopin or Agua Caliente, Jubuval, Michegua, Mucucniz, Queptahua, Taqui, Tatayojai, Tegilque.

The following translation was made in 1917 from a MS copy of the Sanchez diary in the Bancroft Library entitled: *Diario de la caminata que hizo el P. Prefecto Payeras en union del P. Sanchez por la sierra des de San Diego hasta San Gabriel*. MS., 1821. Copy in Arch. Sta. Barbara, Vol. iv, pp. 209-29.

The translation was carefully compared in 1919 with the original diary at the Mission of Santa Barbara, a 22-page MS, 16mo, No. 820. Typographical errors in rancheria names in the copy of the diary in the Bancroft Library are given in footnotes to this translation.

Dr. H. I. Priestley in an article on Expeditions sent out from California Missions (in galley proof, not published) gives an abstract of this diary and his identifications of localities are here given in footnotes.

An account of the expedition with an abstract of the Sanchez diary is given in Bancroft Hist. of Calif. II, 442-3, 1885.

SANCHEZ' DIARY, 1821

The following is a free translation of a part of José Sanchez' diary of a journey made by him in company with the Prefect Payeras by mountain from San Diego to San Gabriel in Sept.-Oct. 1821. Enough of the diary is translated to give location of rancherias and any material concerning Indians.

Sept. 10, 1821.-- We set out, the R.P. Prefect Paieras (210) and the undersigned with 6 soldiers including the old men José Manuel Silvas and Marcos Briones, at four in the afternoon from the Mission of San Diego de Nipahuai^{toward the east} for a rancho of the aforesaid Mission called Sta. Monica and also ^{El} El Cajon, about 5 leagues from the Mission, and reached there at 6:30.

Sept. 11.-- At about 3 in the morning we started out toward the N and after about a league came to a cañada called Del Arrastradero where we found the Michegua rancheria with two gentile Indians. We followed the cañada in its windings, now to the E, now to the N, finding a little water and pasture amid willow, alder and poplar, with oak (211) at the sides and chamisal on the heights; we began to ascend a sufficiently steep hill and at the top turned into an arm of the cañada where we found another rancheria called Queptahua with 10 gentiles. We went on to the plain called Pamó where there is another rancheria called Canapui with 6 gentiles and with a little spring of water. We followed said valley to the NE. It is not bad land and has sufficient grass. And as we began to go up to the rancheria of the

↓ "site of modern town so named" (Priestley).

Ballena we inclined toward the E until we came to said (211) ranheria, called by the natives Egepam, which is to say 'whale'; it has 3 gentiles. We arrived at this ranheria at eight o'clock in the morning. It has its little spring of good water and the country is covered with live oak and sufficient grass. We found fine sarßsaparilla by the spring. After breakfast we kept on with our journey and on going out of the cañada found a little spring of water under some alders. From here we took a course to the N to the Cañada of Sta. Isabel, called by the natives

✓ Elcuanam where we arrived at about 9 in the morning, having gone about 11 leagues from Sta. Monica. (212)

Sept. 12.--[Rested here, visited sick, 7 converted gentiles]

Sept. 13.-- This afternoon we turned S through the cañada of Sts. Isabel. It is small but its soil is very good, with sufficient pasture and as you go out of it, going in the direction away from San Diego, there is another spring of water.

Sept. 14.-- At daybreak we began to ascend the Sierra Madre. We found the house at its base by a sufficiently steep hill sprinkled with oak and live oak, and also springs of water, and crossed its cañadas ^{passing the site} where are kept the large herds belonging to the Mission of San Diego, keeping always to the E until we reached the snow of the sierra after about an hour and a half's trail. From this point we had hoped to see the Colorado River with a good

✓ Erroneously spelled Elcuanain in copy in Bancroft Library

✓ "Where modern town of same name is" (Priestley)

telescope that we brought for the purpose, but the haze was too thick. But when we looked at the cañada of San Felipe which winds by the river, the view was not so bad. . . (212)

We set out to the NE for the valley of San José or Guadalupe. (213)

We returned by the same road that took us by the place of the rodea, went to the right and came out at the beginning of the cañada of San Dieguito where we found the regular planting of maize belonging to the Mission of San Diego.

We went on crossing to the right and passing several springs of water, but only of moderate size until reaching the house where there is a spring of excellent water . . . Every- (214)

where in the cañada there is young poplar, willow and alder.

I noted that adjoining the corn fields there was a rancheria called Guichopa; farther down about half a league where there is a large water hole there is another called Geonat; a little farther down there is another called Tatavojai, and where there is the house Elcuanam. All the people of the rancherias were found together in this last called by us Sta. Isabel. We spent about six hours going up and down the mountain. Of Christians alone there are all together in this site 450 and then there are besides all the old gentiles, parents, grandparents and relatives.

This cañada that we have just gone down is called by the natives Jamatai.

Sept. 15.-- Explored the aforesaid half of the cañada of Sta. Isabel that reaches to the N and a little distance from the house we found the rancheria called Mucucuiz; which has its waterhole; on the same course turning to the W another called Gelonopai; a little farther on there is another called Egenal that also has its spring of water. Going on W there is another called Tegilque, and very near this is another called Gecuar. All the people of these rancherias are congregated at that of Elcuamam, the one that I have spoken of in the cañada of Jamatai. As I have said the Christians that are there added to the gentiles that still remain would make 650 people congregated there. This part of the cañada is where the wheat, and maize is sown. This afternoon a cross blessed by the holy father was erected in front of the chapel door in the presence of myself, 6 soldiers, the two old men, the Christians of the place and all the gentiles, amounting to about 600 people. This afternoon they brought us presents of a kind of bread made from the little leaves of the mesquite. It does not taste at all bad and is considered by them very good indeed.

Sept. 16.-- Rained. Said mass and visited the sick.

Sept. 17.-- Very early in the morning the Rev. Padre set out (I could not accompany him because I was sick) toward the N for Jacopin alias Agua Caliente about four leagues and a half distant from Sta. Isabel, alias

Elcuanan, and after traveling about a league he found a [216]
spring where the gentiles have planted maize and also their
rancheria called by the natives Ajata, which the R. P.
named Las Llagas.

Going on through the valley of San Jose by the same
road there is another spring of water. The country up to
where one goes out of the valley is a canada of good earth
with alders and oak and some live oak up to where it branches
out of Sta. Isabel, but only alder on going out to the valley.
The Padre going on a little farther found this irrigation [217]
ditch in dry years does not emerge to the plain. A league and
a half away there is another permanent water hole called by
us Buena Vista. After two more marshes, at a distance of a
league and a half is found, almost to the E, Agua Caliente
called the rancheria Jacopin by its natives. Returned to
Santa Ysabel arriving at the house without incident.

Sept. 18.-- . . .

Sept. 19.-- In the afternoon we set out over the same [219]
road that the R. P. took to Jacopin, passing by the rancheria
of Ajata, named by him Las Llagas, and coming out of the val-
ley went to the N, crossing the better mountain, came to a
little hill, being on the road about two and a half hours be-
fore coming to Taqui, a rancheria that was on this little hill.
Without detaining us I examined this site which has water-
holes to the north and west, there being nothing lacking
as the Rev. Father said, for a mission foundation to the E of

this hill. He erected a cross with my help and that of the people accompanying us. All the hilly region to the SSW has its springs of water that all together would make a good ditch for irrigating the beautiful area which they cover. In this site the Indians have an abundance of their kind of seeds. The valley is more than three leagues long and in parts more than two leagues broad. From Sta. Isabel to this site, named Guadalupe by the R. P. it is about 2 leagues and a half. All want a mission. Note.-- At a distance of about [220] 6 or 7 leagues from Sta. Isabel there are 10 rancherias to the east that seem to have 450 people.

Sept. 20. -- At about 4 in the morning we set out to the W through the whole canada over a difficult road, on which we found poplar, willow, alder, and on the hills, live oak. The canada is sufficiently shut in, but at a distance of two leagues there is a piece of land to the S well pastured and to the N there are 4 irrigating ditches that come down from the mountain. We set out for the rancheria called by us Potrero and by the natives Cuqui. This is a very good site, has 4 ditches of water that come down from the mountain, and the land has pasture and good soil. There are live oaks and willows and poplars in the canada, and high on the sierra to the N there is pine and redwood in abundance. We finally arrived at some cultivated fields of gentiles and Christians a little farther down, and certainly from the signs there were many of them. At about quarter of ten after traveling

three leagues and after we had our lunch we emerged from the canada to the W, its arroyo covered with poplar and willow, and arrived at Pala or San Antonio, site of San Luis Rey, at about 4:30 in the afternoon, having gone 2 leagues.

Sept. 21.--

Sept. 22.-- Went to the plain of Temecula.

[222]

Sept. 23.-- At daybreak we set out down the canada to the W. The land has a quantity of saltpetre. It has a ditch of water but seems useless for planting. After about a league we turned to the N and found a spring of water, not large, called by us San Isidro, and following the same course found another called Sta. Gertrudis, and continuing on the same route came into Jaguara, so-called by the natives and by us San Jacinto, a rancho of large herds of the Mission of San Luis Rey, about 11 or 12 leagues from Temecula. There were no trees all along the way. The soil is very good for planting, but when you come to San Jacinto, although grass-covered it seems fit for nothing because nitrous. From this little hill where there is the entrance to north and south two watering-places come out. The arroyo that goes from this to the south is clothed with cottonwood for about two leagues. Opposite the entrance to the northeast there is a spring of warm water. The pine timber is not very far away.

[222]

[223]

Sept. 25.--

[224]

Sept. 26.-- At about 4 in the morning we set out from San Jacinto crossing the canada to the W. There are no

trees on the way. The land is grassy but sprinkled with saltpetre. After a short $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues we came to a regular lake that turns to the S, which they say is dry in years of little water. From here we went N over a little hill, sterile and well-covered with chamissal. We went up the mountain with some difficulty and then down through a canada with sufficient Islai (which I tasted and liked--a seed of the natives). We turned a little to the W to go out of it, thence by the N, after a little arriving at San Bernardino, so-called by us and by the natives Guachinga, which belongs to San Gabriel and is about 9 leagues distant from it. This canada besides Islai has also live oak, poplar, sufficient water and at its entrance a fair-sized area of good land. There is also wood. [225]

Sept. 27.-- Tried to explore the sites of this place and find out about the natives.

Sept. 28.-- At sunrise we set out to return to this site of San Bernardino, and [to one] called by the natives, Jubuval to the NE, crossing a river discovered many years ago which is very small some years, it is said. Its shores are covered with poplars, alders and other trees. Beyond the trees, there is a sufficiently sandy area, and beyond this a plain of good land. In it there is a fine

spring of hot water. A quarter of a league away we could discern to the NW a large arroyo with a large marsh, which [226] is the source of the Santana River. We followed the edge of the mountain and to the NNE there is an arroyo of very good water. It was named by the R.P. the arroyo of San Miguel. Its water does not always reach the river because of the great quantity of sand. We turned round to cross the river over a very stony place and to the E there is a large ditch of water which the San Gabriel Missionaries use to irrigate the lands which at this time are covered with all kinds of plantings and are in splendid condition. These lands are not very good but they plant them.

Sept. 29.-- After mass we set out with course to the W turning to take the road of the previous day. After a little we found the old houses in a beautiful bend that the [227] river forms. There are three springs of water and following the road that leads to San Gabriel we passed the river between distinct branches all with abundant water. We went through chamissal and bad land until we came to an arroyo of sufficient water that comes from the mountain. It is covered with alders and some poplars. They say that the only dry place is where we passed. A little beyond there is a fine marsh

Perhaps Harlem (Priestley)

Doubtless Lytle Creek (Priestley)

that forms a large pasture and the R.P. said that a mission could be established in the middle of it. He called it Jesus Maria.....At a distance of from 8 - 33 leagues from this site to the E there are 9 rancherias, which, as I am told, have in all 416 people. According to Mayordomo Garcia there were altogether 1000 people in this place last year . . .

Oct. 1.-- At four in the morning set out by the same [229]
road that passes San Gabriel and at seven o'clock came to Jubabal, on the bank of the Santana River, reaching Guapia at about 9:30. At four in the afternoon set out for Ajuenga and from there at dark for San Gabriel where we arrived at 8 o'clock, having traveled 21 leagues from San Bernardino."

Jose Sanchez, Diario de la caminata que hizo el P. Prefecto Payeras en union del P. Sanchez por la sierra des de San Diego hasta San Gabriel. MS., 1821. Copy in Arch. Sta. Barbara, Vol. iv, pp. 209-29.

Original MS. Diary in Archives of Santa Barbara Mission.

Major Savage

MAJOR SAVAGE'S CAMPAIGNS AGAINST INDIANS

1851

Carded

The following accounts of expeditions against Indians (including Yosemites and Chowchillas) led by Major Savage from Mariposa and Fresno, ^(including attack on Indians on San Joaquin River in the Sierra Nevada) Calif. in 1851 appeared in the newspapers of that time.--*cm*

Daily Alta California, Jan. 17, 1851. Letter to Editors dated "Near Castoria, Jan. 14, 1851" and signed "R. W.": "Three hundred men, well armed and supplied with provisions, under the command of Savage and Capt. Whitier (late of the firm of Heath, Emory and Whitier, Stockton) left Agua Frio on the 8th instant, on an expedition against the Indians. Savage intended to surprise them in the night, in their stronghold -- a valley in the mountains, which can be entered by one narrow pass only."

Daily Alta California, Jan. 20, 1851. "San Joaquin Intelligence". from the Times of Jan. 18: "There was a rumor in town yesterday, that a severe fight had taken place between the Indians and whites, in the vicinity of Burns', in which 50 Indians were killed and wounded and 15 whites.

Another rumor was, that a party of Indians made a descent upon a camp on the San Joaquin, killing and wounding all its inmates, some half a dozen in number; and sending a message to Savage, by one of the wounded men, that if he would meet them on the plains in the vicinity of San Joaquin, they would give him and his party a fair fight."

Daily Alta California, Jan. 21, 1851. "San Jose, Jan. 19, 1851. An express rider from Mariposa County arrived in this city this evening. He has brought intelligence of a battle between 400 Indians and a party of 50 or 60 Americans under the command of Captain James Burney. The despatches containing this intelligence are dated at 'Agua Frio,' and they state that the Indians were strongly entrenched in one of their villages. Their position was attacked at the dawn of day, on or about the morning of the 9th inst. by the Americans, led on by Capt. Burney. The battle was a hard fought one, and lasted 3 hours. The result was that the Indians were driven from the village, with a loss of 60 killed and from 1 to 20 wounded. Eight Americans were wounded, two of them mortally. One of the latter was Lieut S. Keane, and the other a Mr. Little . . . After the battle the Americans burned the village and retreated. They were pursued and constantly fired upon by the Indians, during a retreat of 10 miles.

But the most horrible intelligence contained in the despatches is that of the massacre of 72 men by the ruthless savages. This massacre took place near Rattlesnake Creek. The men were working in a gulch or chasm, and had stacked their arms, not apprehending any danger. The Indians came upon them by stealth, and having secured their arms, massacred them one by one in detail.

A petition for aid, signed by 50 or 60 citizens of Mariposa^{ox} County has been presented to the Executive."

Daily Alta California, Jan. 26, 1851. Letter to Editors, dated "Near Castoria, Jan. 22, 1851" and signed "R. W." :

"I have just received the particulars of Savage's late engagement with the Indians. With some 50 men, he approached in the night to within 60 or 80 yards of the Indians' camping ground, where he remained in ambuscade, intending to make an attack at daybreak. He was discovered, however, by the Indians, and on hearing the alarm in their camp, he thought it best to charge upon them, which he did. The chief threw up his arms as Savage implored him not to fire, assuring him that they wished to make peace. Savage's men, however, fired, and the Indians retreated into the bushes. They soon rallied again, and fought the whites almost hand to hand, drove the Indians from the ground, and destroyed 10 or 15 tons of dried meat. Savage had one man killed and 3 wounded. A number of the Indians fell. The Indians informed Savage that they would meet him on Sunday, the 19th. He retired 5 miles from the ground, built a fort, left his men in it, and went to Agua Frio and Burns' for reinforcements. On Thursday or Friday last he left with 200 men for the mountains. Savage has lost all the goods he had at his principal trading post, and all his animals except 3 or 4 mules....He has still some goods on the Mariposa.

On Thursday evening last, news was received at Burns', from fine Gold Gulch, 60 miles south, of the massacre by the Indians of all the settlers on Four Creeks, some 150 miles south of Burns'."

Major Savage's Expeditions against Indians, 1851

Daily Alta California, Jan. 29, 1851. Letter to Editors, dated "Near Castoria, Jan. 27, 1851" and signed "R.W." :
"As there were some few errors in my recent accounts of the Indian troubles in the South, allow me to give you a correct statement of all that has occurred, down to the latest advices.

About 3 months since, Jim Savage moved from the Frizno, a small stream, 30 miles S.E. of the Miraposas, where he had a store, and established a trading-post on the Miraposas, and one at Burns', 25 miles this side of the Miraposas. He was at Burns' recently when his two squaws were taken off, and he was informed by Indians that his 3 men at Miraposas had been murdered, his goods carried off and his camp burnt. He immediately went to Miraposas, and found that the report was true. He had lost about \$8000^{worth} of goods.

Being acquainted with the Indians' stronghold in the mountains -- a hollow place, surrounded by precipices, timber, and chapparel, and accessible only through a narrow pass -- he raised a company of 43 men, and left Mariposa on the 7th instant, for the Frizno, where they built a log fort, and left their animals, provisions, and 4 men. They travelled afoot 60 miles, and arrived in the vicinity of where they supposed the Indians were camped, on the evening of the 2nd day. Savage went ahead, and discovered the retreat of the Indians. They were carousing around large fires, talking loud, eating, dancing, gambling, &c. Savage could learn from what was said,

that they expected an attack from the Americans. The night was spent in clambering over rugged mountains. Towards morning, a charge was made upon the Indian camp, through the narrow pass. The Indians fled into the thickets, but soon rallied, and crowded so closely upon the whites, and in such numbers, that the latter thought it prudent to retreat into some timber, and take shelter from the arrows. There were eight or ten rifles and pistols among the Indians; but the whites had the advantage, and so many Indians fell that they retreated. Savage's party then set fire to the camp, and destroyed some 60 or 70 huts, a large American tent, and an immense quantity of mule meat and acorn meal. The huts were covered with mule meat, and the acorn meal was hung in baskets to the trees. 27 Indians were killed. Two Americans, named Little and Sylvester, were killed. One named Richard Rillotson, from New York State, had his nose shot off with a rifle ball, and was wounded with an arrow in the arm. Several others were slightly wounded with arrows. An old squaw, who fought well, and was wounded in the affray, was burnt with the camp During the skirmish, the Indians called for Savage to 'come out', and several of them rushed recklessly among the Americans, calling for Savage, that they wanted to kill him. He was disguised, however, so that they did not recognize him. It was supposed that there were 300 or 400 Indians on the ground. The chief informed the whites that 300 of their warriors were absent on an expedition to the settlements, but they would meet them again. This state-

ment has been confirmed by the fact that about this time 7 whites were killed at the Red Banks, on the Mercede, and 60 mules were taken from Hill's and 60 from Howard's rancho, on the Mercede. Eleven other men are missing from Red Banks.

Savage is a man possessing more than ordinary intelligence and shrewdness. He is about 28 years old, and remarkable for his energy of character, and whole souled generosity. He is of German descent, and from Illinois, where he went to school until he was 14, when he became a mountaineer, and lived several years among the Sacs and Foxes, and other Indians. Five or 6 years ago he came to this country, and has lived mostly among the Indians, over whom he has had the control of a chief, until recently. He speaks 5 Indian tongues, besides, German, French, Spanish, and English.

He has started on a second expedition with a larger force. There is a report of his having defeated the Indians -- killed 300 and taken 150 squaws -- but it needs confirmation . . .

The place called Burns' which has become noted of late for quartz veins, is an extensive region of rolling land, about six miles on the south side of the Mercede . . . "

Daily Alta California, Jan. 29, 1851.

Major Savage's Expeditions against Indians, 1851

Daily Alta California, April 4, 1851: "We are in possession of intelligence from the camp of the Indian Commissioners on the Fresno River, as late as the 30th ult., having received a communication yesterday morning. We also had the pleasure of an interview yesterday from Judge Marvin, who left the same locality on the 27th.....

Some of the Pit-cat-chis, with whom Capt. Kirkindall had a skirmish some time since, had come in on the ^{on [prob. 30th]} 80th. Their chief, José Frederica, came in some 10 days previous, and left again. He returned, as above stated, with about 80 fine-looking Indians, all well armed with bows and arrows, and reported that the rest of his people would soon be in.

Capt. Kirkindall, with 25 men, was absent on a scout in the direction of the FourCreeks; and nothing direct had been heard from the command of Savage, who were absent at the head waters of the Merced after the O-sem-etes. Tom Keath, an Indian chief, was represented to be in considerable force about 25 miles from the San Joaquin river, in the direction of King's river.

Judge Marvin heard, at Ford's Ferry on the Merced, a report that Savage's party had had a severe fight with the O-sem-etes, in which 15 or 20 Indians were killed, and that he had taken many prisoners by surrounding their rancheria. They, however, broke through and most of them escaped. Subsequently, ran the report, Savage was obliged to fall back for fear of being left without provisions, having started with but 15 days' rations. The tribes not yet treated with have until the 8th or 9th instant to come into Camp McLean or the Fresno, when should they not, an expedition will be sent out after them. . . . "

Major Savage's Expeditions against Indians, 1851

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Daily Alta California, April 23, 1851. Letter to Editors dated "San Jose, April 22, 1851" and signed "M" :

I have just had a conversation with Judge Lewis, the Adjutant of Maj. Savage's Battallion of Mounted Volunteers, and Lieut. Brooks of the same Battallion, who are recently from the seat of the Indian War in Mariposa County. From them I learn the following particulars. On the 19th of March, Major Savage with Captains ^{OK} Borling, and ^[Bowling] Dill's Companies started from Camp No. 3 for the head waters of the Merced river to subdue the Semitees and Neuch-Teus who refused to come into the treaty made with the tribes in their vicinity by the Indian Commissioners at Camp Fremont. The volunteers after 3 days march arrived in the neighborhood of the Indians and on the morning of the fourth day surprised the Neuch-Teus and took them prisoners. The march was over rugged mountains and through deep defiles covered with snows and was one of considerable exposure and hardship. The command, upon the 21st, marched all day and during the night until about four o'clock on the morning of the 22d, some 45 miles, when the troops arrived at the south fork of the Merced river about 7 miles above the rancheria of the Neuch-Teus. During the march the volunteers were without food, and marching continually through the snow. Upon arriving at the stream above mentioned, the pack train was left with a small guard, who succeeded by removing the snow in procuring a few rushes for the animals. The volunteers after resting a

few moments took up the line of march for the rancheria, where they arrived about 7 in the morning of the 22d.

This part of the march was exceedingly difficult and dangerous. It lay along a deep cañon and a part of it had to be made through the water and a part over precipitous cliffs covered with snow and ice. Major Savage had with him an Indian boy from the Chowchilla tribe who had married a Neuch-Teus wife who was living in the rancheria at this time and upon approaching it told the boy that in case the Neuch-Teus attempted to run from the rancheria, the whole of them would be killed. The boy was much alarmed at this, went a short distance ahead of the volunteers and by creeping on his hands and knees through the bushes managed to get within a short distance of the rancheria before being discovered by the Indians. He communicated to them what Savage had told him and finding themselves entrapped surrendered without showing any disposition to fight and without a gun being fired. Almost the first question asked by Pan-Wache, their Chief, was whether Savage was there? when Savage answered in their own language that he was, upon which the Chief came out and met the Major who told the Chief the object for which they had come. The Major told him that he had before said that some day the white people would come for them and that now since his Indians were enemies of the whites he had come to kill them all unless they would consent to live like good Indians.

These Indians as well as most of the tribes on this side of Sierra's believe in wizards and witches. A man distinguished for his superior knowledge and power is regarded as a wizard. The Major told the Chief that 3 wizards had been sent to the Indian country by the great wizard of the white men to make the Indians presents, to learn them how to till the soil and live like the whites, and that the great wizard wanted all the Indians to be good and honest and to come out of the mountains and reside on the plains, and that the white people were very numerous, and if the Indians did not do as the 3 wizards desired the great wizard would tell the white men to kill all of the Indians. The chief replied that he had heard at different times the same thing that was now told him but that he did not believe it true -- since he (Savage) had come and told him he believed it true and would go with him. The volunteers having selected camping ground about two miles from the rancheria, sent up for the mules, and the next day made preparations to march against the Yo-Semitees, living about 25 miles distant, on the middle fork of the Merced. In the mean time an Indian courier had been dispatched by Maj. Savage to the Indians informing them of his approach to their country and the objects of his mission, with a request that the chief, Yo Semitee, together with his tribe, should come into the camp. The chief obeyed the summons, but brought none of his tribe with him

except two sons. Upon arriving he made many excuses for not bringing with him his people, among which were that they were all good Indians -- that they never stole animals nor killed white men -- that it was now in the dead of winter and the snows deep -- that they were well supplied with acorns and living happy and contented. These Indians, nevertheless, have committed numerous depredations about Burns' Diggings and Mariposa, and the assertions of their goodness and peaceable intentions obtained no credence, and the chief and his people were peremptorily ordered to be in camp within 3 days. Major Savage, doubting whether Yo-Semitee would obey the order, started on the morning of the 25th with a part of his command and 3 days provisions for the Middle Fork. On the way he met the Yo-Semitee's coming in, but still doubting whether they were all on the road, he pushed forward through the snows and a snow storm to the rancheria, taking with him the chief. Upon arriving there, he found a large quantity of acorns put up in cribs, which he destroyed, as well as their huts. He found also a very old Indian and his wife, the father and mother of Yo-Semitee, who had been left behind to perish or to take care of themselves as best they could. They were living in a cave, in which was kindled a small fire, but will doubtless perish during the winter. The Major had a large pile of wood carried to them, and acorns, but they were old decrepid, and Yo-Semitee remarked that he had thrown them away

and must leave them since they could not travel and take care of themselves.

Quite a number of Indian tracks led towards the Sierras, and upon inquiry it was ascertained that they were those of some Monas, a tribe of Indians living the other side of the Sierras, and whilst on a visit last fall were caught this side by early snows, and unable to return. Upon learning that the Yo-Semitees were likely to have difficulties, they became alarmed and started for their tribe. The Monas are nearly white, and are much superior, mentally and physically, to the Indians this side of the mountains. Maj. Savage dispatched Yo-Semitee on their trail to bring them back, but after traveling several hours he was unable to overtake them. During the night the snow fell to the depth of 3 or 4 feet, which obliterated all traces of their footsteps. Being satisfied that no more Indians were in that quarter, the command commenced the march back. The snows impeded their progress very much, and the volunteers were obliged to go in advance of their animals and break a path in order to get them along. On the march several animals became exhausted from the want of food and from fatigue, and were left on the road. Upon returning for them the next day, they were found dead. Upon arriving in camp, the Volunteers with the Indians started for the head-quarters on the Fresno, on the 29th. The rancheria of the Yo-Semitees is described as being in a valley of surpassing beauty, about 10 miles in length and

one mile broad. Upon either side are high perpendicular rocks, and at each end through which the Middle Fork runs, deep cañons, the only accessible entrances to the Valley. The forest trees, such as pine, fir, red wood and cedar, are of immense height and size. There is a species of pine tree here, from which exudes a saccharine substance nearly resembling in looks and taste brown sugar. The Indians gather and use it as an article for food, and Judge Lewis informs me that excepting a slight piney taste, it cannot be distinguished from common brown sugar. On the first day of April the whole command arrived at the headquarters of the regulars on the Fresno, and the Indians were turned over to the Commissioners. The Commissioners declined treating with them until the Chou-Chillas came in, but furnished them with a supply of food and some clothing.

Judge Lewis and Lieut. Brooks left Camp No. 4 on the Fresno on the 13th day of April, upon which day the regulars started for Cassady's on the San Joaquin, and Maj. Savage with his command on an expedition against the Chow-chillas. This, the most powerful of the Indian tribes in California, is believed to have at its command 1000 warriors. A portion of the Pyanches from the other side of the Sierras are known to be allied with them and other tribes this side of the mountains. A hard fight is anticipated with them since they have refused all overtures of peace and have committed the most daring robberies and unprovoked murders in the neighborhood of fine and coarse

Gold Gulches. Large quantities of snow have fallen since the expedition started, which will render the march exceedingly difficult, and perhaps defeat the ultimate success of the troops. However the Major and the officers and men under him will not turn back for any ordinary difficulties, and we may expect soon to hear of the complete subjection of the Chow-chillas. The next treaty will be made with the Indians at some point on the San Joaquin. The best of feeling exists between the regular and volunteer forces, and in the course of a month it is believed the Indian difficulties will be satisfactorily settled from the Calaveras to the Tulare Lake....."

Daily Alta California,
April 23, 1861.

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Major Savage's expeditions against Indians, 1851

Daily Alta California, June 11, 1851. Letter of Capt.
Bowling to Major Savage:

Main Branch of San Joaquin
Foot of Sierra Nevada, April 29, 1851)

Dear Major:-- After you left us at the foot of the snow mountains, the snow continued to fall nearly all the time I was awaiting supplies. On arrival of our supplies there was no time lost in preparing to march, and on the morning of the 24th inst. we took up the line of march for the San Joaquin. On reaching the north fork we found it very high, and the vallies so boggy as to render it impossible to travel after night. Consequently we encamped near a recently occupied ranch, at the foot of the first high range of mountains, and upon the second creek south of the north fork. On the morning of the 25th scouting parties were sent in different directions to search for Indian trails and fresh signs. We soon discovered the trail of a large party, which apparently had come from the heads of the Mercede, making their way to the San Joaquin. This trail had been made some two or three days. A little after sunrise we resumed our march, following our newly discovered trail until we reached the river at the distance of about 5 miles, and about 8 miles above where we fought the Chowchilles some time since. On arriving at the river it was found to be very deep. A large Indian ranch and play ground, with some few Indians standing about was discovered on the opposite side.

Major Savage's expeditions against Indians, 1851.

The Indians soon secreted themselves among the rocks and brush.

A few dry pieces of timber were immediately lashed together with our horse ropes, on which we finally succeeded in crossing. The water was as cold as ice, and rushed down the cañon with such rapidity as to apparently defy a passage under ordinary circumstances. As dangerous as it was there was no dallying, the Indians were in sight and the boys appeared not to know there was any obstacle in their way. No sooner was the word given than their clothing was off, and all the good swimmers rushed into the foaming current, amidst the confusion of a mass of huge rocks, which had tumbled from the mountain tops. Robert McKee, taking in his mouth the end of a rope, succeeded in reaching the opposite shore. Our raft was only sufficient to carry 2 men at a time, and such as were not good swimmers took advantage of it, and by the time it was hauled over by the rope they were in the water to their waists. In this hazardous manner we were unable to effect a crossing of all our forces until the morning of the 26th.

During all this struggle in crossing the river, the Indians had spies in the tops of the trees on the mountains, overlooking all our movements. Discovering that all the forces were over and ready to march, they gave the news to the rancheros, when they gave a yell, and were seen secreting themselves among the rocks, and brush and on each side of the road that led to

Major Savage's Expeditions against Indians, 1851

the ranhero.

Preparations were immediately made for battle, which resulted in a foot race. The whole force, as near abreast as circumstances would admit, slowly and cautiously ascended the mountain, each step expecting to hear the hum of an arrow, until we arrived at the ranheria. No Indians were to be found. The[y] had only left a few minutes, making large trails in different directions, and having nearly all their provisions and some clothing. This village consisted of about 150 huts, and a large supply of acorns, all of which we destroyed, being satisfied that the men were secreted among the bushes watching our movements. I sought to ascertain in what direction the women and children had gone, that we might pursue them, and probably bring the men into a fight.

Lieut. Smith with his party ascended a high mountain near the top of which they found the trail of a large number of women and children, traveling nearly due East. We pursued them with all possible speed, carrying on our backs our bed and provision. At the distance of about 8 miles, we came to another ranhero, similar in size to the other, apparently vacated at about the same time and with the same quantity of provisions, etc. Here the Indians again scattered, and we were unable to find their trail until dark, consequently we encamped on the ground. On the morning of the 27th all hands were eating breakfast at the dawn of day and soon on our march. At sunrise, we had discovered 2 large trails, one leading Southeast

and toward the south fork; the other, which was much the largest, North, and toward the main river. Lieut. Smith with his party followed the smallest trail, found a rancho and chased the Indians so close they were forced to leave all they had and run for life. His men as well as provisions being completely exhausted, were bound to give up the chase. My own company, accompanied by Capt. Dill and his company, followed the largest trail over the roughest country I have ever seen, each man packing his bed and food, until we arrived at a rancho much larger than any previously found, which had been very recently abandoned. From the signs here it is evident there are more Indians in this section of country than anyone had supposed. At this place, they scattered as usual, some crossing the river, others taking to the mountains on the south side, but much the largest number following a hard beaten trail up the river. Having at this time but one ration on hand, and knowing we were bound to suffer before we got provision, and also being well satisfied that it would turn out a fruitless undertaking to attempt to chase those wild people of the Sierra Nevada down, without having provisions, come-at-able at any and all times and places, I then informed the respective parties that I was satisfied under existing circumstances, we could no longer continue the chase. I directed the parties to proceed down the river and select an encampment for the night. The entire force, except myself and 8 others who were tired down, stopped back a few minutes to rest. On taking up our beds to walk,

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having no provisions to pack, we discovered a lot of Indians on the opposite side of the river, who raised the war whoop. Believing we could not get within rifle shot, I determined on making an effort to have a talk. For this purpose I directed Dr. Burnett to lay down his arms and go down to the water's edge, and call them to the opposite shore. This he did. They responded by rushing to the opposite shore, and sending forth a shower of arrows at him. We immediately ran to his relief, and before they got out of reach, shot two of them down, and from their actions we are supposed to have wounded two others. The following morning we made tracks for headquarters, fully convinced that with less than 25 days rations kept within striking distance, it would be labor lost and money foolishly expended by this State, to send men into that portion of the country these ^{or} indians inhabit.

John Bowling, Capt. Co.B "

Daily Alta Calif., June 11, 1851.

Maj. Savage's Expedition to Yosemite, 1851

Daily Alta California, June 12, 1851: "We publish here two more letters touching the movements of the battalion of State troops under Major Savage -- one from Capt. Bowling and the other from the Sergeant Major of the Command:

Merced River, Yo-Semety Village, }
May 15, 1851.

Major Savage: -- Sir: On reaching this valley, which we did on the 9th inst., I selected for our encampment the most secluded place that I could find, lest our arrival might be discovered by the Indians. Spies were immediately dispatched in different directions, some of which crossed the river to examine for signs on the opposite side. Trails were soon found, leading up and down the river, which had been made since the last rain. On the morning of the 10th we took up the line of march for the upper end of the valley, and having traveled about 5 miles we discovered 5 Indians running up the river on the north side. All of my command, except a sufficient number to take care of the pack animals, put spurs to their animals, swam the river and caught them before they could get into the mountain. One of them proved to be the son of the old Yo-Semety chief. I informed him if they would come down from the mountains and go with me to the U. S. Indian Commissioners, they would not be hurt; but if they would not, I would remain in their neighborhood as long as there was a fresh track to be found; informing him at the same time that all the Indians except his father's people and the Chou-chillas had treated

Maj. Savage's Expedition to the Yosemite, 1851

and that you were then after the Chou-chillas, with 2 companies of volunteers, determined on chasing them as long as a track could be found in the mountains, and that all the Indians which had been treated with were well satisfied with their situation. He then informed me that we had been discovered by their spies and that we would not have got so close had they have known we could run over the river so quick on horseback, and that if I would let him loose, with another Indian, he would bring in his father and all his people by twelve o'clock the next day. I then gave them plenty to eat and started him and his companion out. We watched the others close, intending to hold them as hostages until the despatch-bearers returned. They appeared well satisfied and we were not suspicious of them, in consequence of which one escaped. We commenced searching for him, which alarmed the other two still in custody, and they attempted to make their escape. The boys took after them, and finding they could not catch them, fired and killed them both. This circumstance, connected with the fact of the two we had sent out not returning, satisfied me that they had no intention of coming in. My command then set out to search for the Rancheria. The party which went up the left towards Can-yarthia found the rancheria at the head of a little valley, and from the signs it appeared that the Indians had left but a few minutes. The boys pursued them up the mountain on the north side of the river, and when they got near the top, helping each other from rock to rock on account of the abruptness

of the mountains; the first intimation they had of Indians being near was a shower of huge rocks which came tumbling down the mountain, threatening instant destruction. Several of the men were knocked down, and some of them rolled and fell some distance before they could recover, wounding and bruising them generally. One man's gun was knocked out of his hand and fell 70 feet before it stopped, whilst another man's hat was knocked off his head without hurting him. The men immediately took shelter behind large rocks, from which they could get an occasional shot, which soon forced the Indians to retreat, and by pressing them close, they caught the old Yo-semity chief, whom we yet hold as a prisoner. In this skirmish they killed one Indian and wounded several others.

You are aware that I know this old fellow well enough to look out well for him, least by some strategem he makes his escape. I shall aim to use him to the best advantage in pursuing his people. I send down a few of my command with the pack animals for provisions; and I am satisfied if you will send me 10 or 12 of Pon-watchez' best men I could catch the women and children and thereby force the men to come in. The Indians I have with me have acted in good faith and agree with me in this opinion.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant, John Bowling.

Daily Alta Calif., June 12, 1851.

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SAVAGES Expedition against Yosemite & Choucillas

Daily Alta Calif., June 12, 1851:

Headquarters Camp Fresno,
May 17, 1851

Adjutant Lewis: Sir -- Agreeable to your request I proceed to give you in detail a hasty sketch of our movements in general during the last expedition against the Chow-chillas. Leaving camp on the morning of the 4th inst., with all the effective forces that could be spared from camp, except the party which had gone into the mountains with Capt. Bowling, we proceeded on, passing by the rancheria which the Indian Commissioners had treated with and settled, and encamped at the mouth of Coarse Gold Gulch.

At this place, as you are aware, the Major ordered Capt. Keykendall's company to return to the former encampment, and at the same time ordering you to disband them, of the reasons for which you are already advised.

Nothing of interest occurred on our march until the morning of the 7th, at which time we found and destroyed a large quantity of acorns. Continuing our march until 12 o'clock, M., the command halted, where we remained until near night, when we resumed our march, and continued until midnight. The Major, accompanied by 3 volunteers, and 2 Indians, ascended the top of a high mountain for the purpose of looking out for Indian fires. They discovered 2 fires, and immediately returned to a small ravine nearby.

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where they remained until morning, sending the faithful Arosio back to pilot the main force up to his secret encampment. The forces did not arrive at this place until near dark, when we halted a few minutes to give the Major and his party a chance to eat, they not having broke their fast for 30 hours, being all the time on fatigue duty. Soon after dark, we were all on the alert, and guided by Arosio, we passed over huge rocks and the sides of precipices, where we would not have ventured in daylight when we could have seen the danger. During this nightly travel, in crossing one of the branches of the San Joaquin, we had great difficulty on account of the bottom being so slippery and the current so strong that several animals were washed down into the deep water, which was as cold as ice and rather an unpleasant bath for man or horse at midnight. Among others the animal of Orderly Sergeant Bishop was washed down into the deep water, where it remained for some time, apparently feeling for the bottom, letting him into the water up to his waist, where he remained some time on account of the strength of the current, which prevented the mule from swimming, as it was disposed to do. The animal, however finally succeeded in getting foothold, and brought its frozen rider safe to shore. This stream was immediately christened Bishop's River, which our orderly does not admit as being sufficient compensation for such an untimely bath.

All hands having got over safe we continued our march

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until 3 o'clock A. M., when the command halted on a pine ridge, where we remained till the morning of the 10th, more or less snow falling all the time. Early in the morning we resumed our march, finding ourselves at dark as far in the mountains as animals could travel. Camp was pitched, and the Major with all the command except 12 went in pursuit of the Indians. Starting at dark and traveling briskly, we camped on the main and east fork of the San Joaquin, at the foot of the main Sierra Nevada at midnight. Here we quietly remained until morning, when we immediately set out in search of Indian sign. We soon succeeded in finding many large trails, all of which appeared to be leading up the main chain of the Sierra. The means resorted to by those wild people of the mountains in crossing the San Joaquin, where the current has apparently worn a channel hundreds of feet deep, adds an item to the history of crossing streams which has in all probability never been heard of by civilized people. In the first instance, long poles are by some means extended from one rock to another, above which long vines are stretched, a short distance apart, fastened together by smaller ones similar to rope ladders. In crossing the river and getting from one ^{one rock to the other} they appear to walk the pole, and hold on to the vine ladder with their hands. They took the precaution to take off a few steps from the lower end of this ladder. The Major and some of the boys however followed this ladder from rock to

rock, until they got to the opposite of the river, and down into a mild climate, when it was freezing cold where the ladder first started. All hands having been busily engaged during this day in looking out for Indians and sign, and having come to the conclusion that all the Indians in that vicinity had attempted, and perhaps succeeded in crossing the mountains, the command on the morning of the 12th moved down the river. Having traveled about 6 miles down, we discovered a party of male Indians on the opposite side. The Major immediately sent Arosia down towards them, and on getting within speaking distance he called to them, and solicited an interview; but all he could get out of them was that they "were going east". They did not seem disposed to hold a conversation or give any satisfaction whatever. The Major and Arosia then despaired of catching the Indians, unless they could surprise them on their return. Our march was then directed towards the encampment, and as near as possible through the main Indian territory, burning everything on the route, and finding many paths leading towards the plains. On arriving at the Rancheria we found nearly half of the Chowchillas in with the friendly Indians, and the Major was satisfied that nearly all the Monos had tried and perhaps succeeded in getting over the main Sierra Nevada.

I am aware that you have been high up and deep into the

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mountains and snow yourself, but I believe this trip ranks all others. The Major himself has seen cañons and snow peaks this trip which he never saw before. It is astonishing what this man can endure. Traveling on day and night, through the snow and over the mountains, without food, is not considered fatigue with him, and you are well aware the boys will follow him as long as he leaves a sign. We got back to camp on the morning of the 17th. I have the honor to be

Very respectfully, your obed't servant.

R. E. Russell, Serg't Major California Battalion.

To M. B. Lewis, Adjutant."

Daily Alta Calif., June 12, 1851.

Major Savage's Expeditions against Indians, 1851

Daily Alta California, June 11, 1851 : Letter to Editors from M. B. Lewis, Adjutant California Battalion, dated Headquarters Volunteer Camps, River Friesno, June 4, 1851, to correct false impressions prevalent regarding policy and duty of Volunteer Battallion, and stating that Major Savage has been properly and satisfactorily carrying out the instructions of Governor McDougal and Indian Commissioner, Col. J. Neely Johnson. [Long letter, not copied].

Daily Alta California, June 14, 1851: "Subjoined is the last of the letters descriptive of the expedition of the State troops against the Indians. It is a letter from Capt. Bowling, to Col. Barbour, Indian Commissioner:

Fresno River, May 29, 1851.

Sir:-- You will no doubt have heard from my report of the 12th inst., to Major Savage, that we were at that time in close pursuit of the Yosemitig tribes of Indians, that in a slight brush with them we captured their famous chief, and that at this stage of the proceedings the further success of our proceedings was materially affected from the necessity of having to replenish our stock of provisions, which was at a distance of over 100 miles from our encampment. Notwithstanding the number of our party being reduced to 22 men, by the absence of the detachment necessary to escort with safety the pack train, we continued the chase with such rapidity, that we forced a large portion of the Indians to take refuge in the plains with the friendly Indians, while the remainder sought to conceal themselves among the rugged cliffs in the snowy regions of the Sierra Nevada.

Thus far I have made it a point to give as little alarm as possible. After capturing some of them I set a portion at liberty, in order that they might assure the others that if they come in they would not be harmed. Notwithstanding the treachery of the old chief, who contrived to lie and deceive us all the time, his grey hairs saved the boys from inflicting on him that justice which would have been administered

under other circumstances. Having become satisfied that we could not persuade him to come in, I determined on hunting them, and if possible running them down, lest by leaving them in the mountains, they should form a new settlement and place of refuge for other ill-disposed Indians, who might do mischief, and retreat to the mountains, and finally entice off those who are quiet and settled in the reserve. On the 20th the train of pack animals and provisions arrived, accompanied by a few more men than the party which went out after provision, and Pon-watchi, the chief of the Nuch-tues tribe with 12 of his warriors.

On the morning of the 21st we discovered the trail of a small party of Indians traveling in the direction of the Monos' country. We followed this trail until 2 o'clock next day, 22d, when one of the scouting parties reported a rancheria near at hand. Almost at the same instant a spy was discovered watching our movements. We made chase after him immediately, and succeeded in catching him before he arrived at the rancheria, and we also succeeded in surrounding the ranch and capturing the whole of them. This chase in reality was not that source of amusement which it would seem to be when anticipated. Each man in the chase was stripped to his drawers, in which situation all hands ran at full speed at least 4 miles, some portions of the time over and through snow ten feet deep, and in this 4 mile heat all Pon-whatch gained on my boys was only distance enough to enable them

to surround the rancheria, whilst my men ran up inffront. Two Indians strung their bows and seized their arrows, when they were told if they did not surrender they would be instantly killed.

They took the proper view of this precaution and immediately surrendered. The inquiry was made of those unfortunate people if they were then satisfied to go with us; their reply was, they were more than willing, as they could go to no other place. From all we could see and learn from those people we were then on the main range of the Sierra Nevada. The snow was in many places more than 10 feet deep, and generally where it was deep the crust was sufficiently strong to bear a man's weight, which facilitated our traveling very much. Here there was a large lake completely frozen over, which had evidently not yet felt the influence of the spring season. The trail which we were bound to travel lay along the side of a steep mountain, so slippery that it was difficult to get along barefoot without slipping and falling hundreds of yards. This place appeared to be their last resort or place where they considered themselves perfectly secure from the intrusion of the white man. In fact those people appear to look upon this place as their last home, composed of nature's own materials, unaided by the skill of man.

The conduct of Pon-watchi and his warriors during this expedition, entitles him and them to much credit. They performed important service voluntarily and cheerfully.

making themselves generally useful, particularly in catching the scattered Indians after surprising a rancheria. Of the Yosemitics, few, if any, are now left in the mountains. Our prisoners say they have all gone down to Cypriano's people.

It seems that their determined obstinacy is entirely attributable to the influence of their chief, whom we have a prisoner, amongst others of his tribe, and whom we intend to take care of. They have now been taught the double lesson, that the white man would not give up the chase without the game, and at the same time if they would come down from the mountains and behave themselves, they would be kindly treated.

Since I have had those Indians in the service with me, and seen the interest they take in trying to bring all others to terms, taking into consideration the good faith in which they have acted, all the men with me who have been witnesses to their good conduct, are satisfied that if the general government furnishes them promptly, as agreed, and bad-disposed white men are kept from among them, peace and quiet will soon be restored and maintained by the Indians.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your most obed't serv't,

John Bowling, Capt. Comp'y B.

To Col. G. W. Barbour.

From Daily Alta California, June 14, 1851.

Sutter

INDIAN VILLAGE DESTROYED BY SUTTER NEAR JUNCTION OF FEATHER AND SACRAMENTO RIVERS

Dr. J. Tyrwhitt Brooks in his book Four Months Among the Gold-Finders in Alta California (London 1849) states that when engaged in gold mining in 1848 in the American River country he was visited by a trapper named Joe White who told him of the destruction by Captain Sutter of an Indian rancheria on Sacramento River. It seems that one night some horses and mules belonging to Sutter's party had been driven off by Indians. Discovering this in the morning, Captain Sutter led his men up the river where about 8 miles from camp they came upon an Indian village which they believed to be the home of the Indians in question. But the Indians had left.

"Determined not to be foiled, the party set to work to demolish the village. The construction of the Indian houses rendered this an easy task, but, to complete it, fire was requisite. No sooner had the smoke risen from the kindling wood, than their ears were saluted with a dismal yell from a little densely-wooded island a couple of hundred yards up the stream. Starting out in all directions from the high grass and underwood, appeared a crowd of squaws with their children, who gave whoop after whoop, and, brandishing boughs of trees, imprecated curses upon the destroyers of their rancheria." (p.112)

On a later page (175) it is stated that the destroyed village was near the junction of Feather River with the Sacramento.

JOHN A. SUTTER

William Maxwell Wood, at one time fleet surgeon of the Pacific Squadron, during a cruise on U.S. ships, remained in Monterey, Calif., and vicinity from Oct. 30-Dec. 15, 1829. In a book relating his experiences (published 1849), he gives the following description of Captain Sutter.

"Among the persons in the suite of General Micheltorena [227] when he visited the ship, was a man of medium or rather low stature, but with marked military air. He wore a cap, and plain blue frock coat, a moustache covered his lip. His head was of very singular formation, being flat and well-shaped behind, and rising high over the crown, with a lofty and expanded forehead. His manners were courteous, but displayed great precision. Such was Capt. Suter, a Swiss by birth.

For 7 years, as I learned, he had been a captain in the Swiss Guards, and during a leave of absence, visited the United States and settled in Missouri. Finding the climate of Missouri too cold, with 12 men he invaded California; and conquered from the Indians that portion of the territory which he now occupies. To protect himself both against the Indians and any unfair exactions of the Mexican or California Governments, he built a fort, and fortified himself. At this time he occupied 30 leagues of territory, and kept constantly employed 200 men who worked during the week, and were exercised in military manoeuvres on Sunday. His [228] chief product is wheat, with which he supplies the Russian possessions at two dollars the fanega or one dollar a bushel. And during harvest time, it is stated, he employs 600 laborers in his fields. He is also experimenting with cotton, hemp, and tobacco. Over the Indians, it is said, his influence is unbounded, and he controls all within the extent of several hundred miles. His settlement is on the Sacramento, about 100 miles from the Bay of San Francisco."-- William Maxwell Wood, Wandering Sketches in South America, Polynesia, California, 227-8, 1849.

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SUTTER, GEN. JOHN A.

**Gilbert, Wells & Chambers, History
of Butte County, Calif. (1882) contains
material on Gen. John A. Sutter on
pp. 45-48, 105-109.**

Illustrations:

Portrait, opposite p. 64.

Sutter's Fort in 1847, opposite p.80.

Sutter's Fort in 1880, opposite p.104.

Sutter's Mill in 1851, opposite p.112.

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HUNTING AND TRAPPING IN CALIFORNIA

Gen. J. A. Sutter in a letter to Gen. M. G. Vallejo, dated Nueva Helvetia, Nov. 1841 (published in Century Magazine, Vol. 41, p. 470, Jan. 1891) writes as follows:

"The trapping party from the Columbia River will be here in about 8 days under command of Mr. Ermatinger."

MARYSVILLE, CALIF.
APPEAL-DEMOCRAT
OCTOBER 11, 1930

ADA OHLEYER WILL REVIEW SUTTER STORY

Miss Ada Ohleyer of Sutter county is engaged in mapping the course of lectures she is to present to classes in Sutter county history at the Yuba City adult school beginning Oct. 20. Classes will be held Monday and Thursday evenings of each week, the same lesson being presented at both sessions each week to accommodate the greatest number. Those who cannot attend Mondays can do so on Thursdays and get the same lecture.

The first series of lectures will be on the Indians of old days, when the whites first came to the valley. History of the tribes, their habits and customs will be discussed, together with their legends. There will be three of the Indian lectures. Indian handicraft will be exhibited. Indian names that have been applied to counties and towns will be studied.

Pioneer Whites will be a second topic and will include discussions of Gen. Sutter, Gen. Fremont and others. The Hudson bay trappers, who came through here for years before settlements began to appear will be an interesting topic.

Aid of all interested persons in digging up data and old letters or diaries is asked, in order that more complete records may be made. Harry C. Peterson, curator of Sutter's fort at Sacramento, has been of great assistance in this work.

INDIANS IN EMPLOY OF CAPTAIN SUTTER

Fremont's 2d Expedition

March 8, 1844.-Near junction of Sacramento & Americanos Rivers, California.

"Captain Sutter emigrated to this country from the western part of Missouri in 1838-'39, and formed the first settlement in the valley, on a large grant of land which he obtained from the Mexican Government. He had, at first, some trouble with the Indians; but, by the occasional exercise of well-timed authority, he has succeeded in converting them into a peaceable and industrious people. The ditches around his extensive wheat fields; the making of the sun-dried bricks, of which his fort is constructed; the ploughing, harrowing, and other agricultural operations, are entirely the work of these Indians, for which they receive a very moderate compensation--principally in shirts, blankets, and other articles of clothing. In the same manner, on application to the chief of a village, he readily obtains as many boys and girls as he has any use for. There were at this time a number of girls at the fort, in training for a future woollen factory; but they were now all busily engaged in constantly watering the gardens, which the unfavorable dryness of the season rendered necessary. The occasional dryness of some seasons, I understood to be the only complaint of the settlers in this fertile valley, as it sometimes renders the crops uncertain. Mr. Sutter was about making arrangements to irrigate his lands by means of the Rio de los Americanos. He had this year sown, and altogether by Indian labor, three hundred fanegas of wheat."

Fremont's Expl. Expd. to Oregon & North California, 246, 1845.

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References to the Indians employed by Sutter, their habits, characteristics &c.

Bryant: What I Saw in California, 265-268, 1848.

Description of the rancherias around the Fort.

Ibid 271.

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CAPT. SUTTER

Fremont arrived at Sutter's fort March 6, 1844,
and he and his men were treated most hospitably by
Capt. Sutter. p.245.

Description of the fort, Sutter's friendly
relations with the Indians, and his various industries. p.246

--Fremont: Expl. Expd. to Oregon & Calif. (1844),
245, 246, 1845.

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245, 246, 1845.

Captain Sutter

Biographical sketch + portrait in
Saint-Amand (P. de), Voyages en Californie
et dans l'Oregon, 549-557 (portrait p. 550), Paris 1854.

Libr. Cong.

Sutter's fort

Tyson, P. T. - Gen. & Ind. Resources
of Calif. - Senate ss Dec. 47, 31st
Cong. 1st sess. p. 12, 1850.

Sutther's Hock Farm (described)

Lt. Gen. H. Derby. - Senate Ex. Doc. 47,
31st Cong. 1st Sess. Part II, p. 9, 1850.

Short account of a visit to "General Sutter's residence"
and the Indians employed by him, referred to as "Diggers".

Bates: Four Years on Pacif.Coast, , 1857. [5th
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Reference to Captain Sutter.-- Fremont:Memoirs, 1,441,
1887. [Third Exped.1845-1846.]

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1887. [Third Exped.1845-1846.]

References to Captain Sutter, description of the Fort, &c.

Bryant: What I Saw in California, 246-248, 265-270,
456-457, 469, 1848.

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456-457, 469, 1848.

Reference to General Sutter.--- Beckwourth: Life and
Adventures, 467, 469-470, 472. [Last reference mentions
his force of Indians] N.Y. 1856 .

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SUTTER, CAPTAIN

Important biographical matter, with portrait,
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Samuel C. Upham, Notes of a Voyage to California in the years 1849-50. Philadelphia 1878 (pp. 318-321). A picture of Sutter's Fort in 1849 faces page 318.

Capt.

Gen.

John A. Sutter

In discovery of gold in California [in Jan. 1848.]
Portrait + article by, in Hutchings Calif. Mag.
vol. II, 193-198, Nov. 1857.

Pictures of Sutter's Fort = 1848 (p. 195) & 1857 (p. 197).

Picture of Sutter's mill at Coloma, where gold
was discovered, p. 199.

Sutter states that he left Coloma
in January 1849 and "moved up to Hock Farm,
with all my Indians, who had been with me from
the time they were children." - Ibid, 198.

Article on & picture of Sutter's residence
at Hock Farm, Ibid. II, 243-244, Dec. 1857.
(8 miles below Marysville)

Built in 1842 for Sutter by Bidwell, but Sutter did not
remove to it to live till 1849.

Hoch Farm - ^{west bank of} on Feather River 8 miles below Marysville.

Built for Gen^l John A. Sutter by Major Bidwell in 1842. Sutter abandoned
New Helvetia, coming known as Sutter's Fort, and moved, with his
Indians, to Hoch Farm in the early part of 1849.

Hutchings' Calif. Mag. II, 243, Dec. 1857. See also Libl, II, 198,
Nov. 1857.

SUTTER'S MILL

Picture of "Sutter's Mill, the Scene of the Gold Discovery" (from painting by Nahl in possession of A. Roman), in article on Discovery of Gold in California, by John S. Hittell, Century, 528, Feb. 1891.

JOHN A SUTTER

Picture of John A. Sutter in article entitled
Life in California before the Gold Discovery, by John Bidwell,
Century, 167, Dec. 1890.

SUTTER'S FORT

Picture of "Sutter's Saw-Mill, Coloma, 1849" opposite
p. 230, in S.C. Upham, Notes of a Voyage to California,
1849-50, 1878.

Picture of "Sutter's Fort, 1849", - Ibid, opposite p.318.

Sutton

See Richman, Calif. under
Spain & Mexico, 268-271,
1911

Sutter

Bancroft's narrative of Sutter
(me) is now in Bancroft Library
Univ. of California, at Berkeley.

Wrote looking into for Indian
notes + possibly Griggs or other
mammal material — same

CAPT. JOHN A. SUTTER

William Heath Davis, who was a merchant of California from 1831-89, was in command of the little fleet which carried Capt. John A. Sutter and his equipment for settlement, up the Sacramento River in 1839. He describes this trip and gives many other incidents concerning Capt. Sutter in the following book.

Davis, Wm. Heath: Sixty Years in California,
pp. 16, 69, 123, 149, 182, 186-7, 191, 192,
274, 353, 381.
San Francisco, 1889

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274, 353, 381.
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Sutter, John A.

A resumé of his life and settlement
at New Helvetia given by Lieut. E. Gould
Buffum in Six Months in the Gold Mines, 53-55,
Phila., 1850

CAPTAIN SUTTER

J. Tyrwhitt Brooks M.D., in his book entitled Four Months Among the Gold-Finders in Alta California (London 1849) states that he ~~has~~ visited Captain Sutter at his establishment on the Sacramento and has much to say of the Fort and Indians (pp. 27-49; 110-113).

Several other references to Sutter occur in the book -

LETTER FROM J.A. SUTTER DECLINING COMMISSION AS SUB-INDIAN AGENT

"Sacramento City, Calif., May 23, 1850

"Sir: Your favor of November 24, enclosing a commission 'constituting me sub-Indian agent on the Sacramento river,' &c., has been received and is before me. You will permit me to tender my sincere thanks for this honor and distinguished mark of confidence, while I must, at the same time, decline its acceptance, from the following considerations: My old age, and the decline of life, together with the multiplicity of my private business, would render it impossible for me to discharge the duties of the office in such manner as would be satisfactory to myself or acceptable to the government. While I decline accepting the commission myself, I hope I may be permitted to recommend to your favorable consideration Colonel Johnston, who is at present holding a similar office in the San Joaquin district. Colonel Johnston is fully competent to discharge the duties of this and the San Joaquin district; and I would respectfully suggest the propriety of but one sub-agent for both valleys, and to pay him a salary in keeping with the business and prices of the country. It will also be necessary to make provision for more interpreters, as every tribe speaks a different language. It will also be necessary to allow a much larger sum for contingent expenses, and in fact all other matters connected with the office. While I freely admit that, had it been in my power to perform the duties of the office at this advanced age of life, I would not have interposed the pecuniary sacrifices necessarily consequent upon it, as an objection to its acceptance; yet I cannot pass the matter without calling the attention of your department to the fact that the Indians of this country are scattered over a very wide extent of country, made up of many very small tribes, and treaties must be made with each of these, if treaties are made at all.

"With high consideration of regard, I have the honor to be,
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Senate Doc. 4, p. 37, 1853

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Samuel C. Upham, Notes of a Voyage to California in the years 1849-50. Philadelphia 1878 (pp. 318-321). A picture of Sutter's Fort in 1849 faces page 318.

Sutter's Fort - 1848

An interesting account of Sutter
& his fort may be found in Lt.
Joseph Warren Revere's 'Tour of duty
in California', pp. 71-73 (with full page
sketch of the fort), 1849.

Notes on Sutter

in Brooks (J.T.) 4 months among the
goldfinders of Calif. p. 29, 1849.

Sutter

1840: Aug. 28. Reck. Naturalization Papers.

apparently started Sutter Fort. 1840.

1841: executed capital punishment on
Indian chief. — Hittell, Vol. 2, 283. 1885

JOHN A. SUTTER.

On August 11, 1839, Sutter landed his effects on the south bank of American River a little above its mouth, where the city of Sacramento now stands. He was accompanied by six whites and 8 Kanakas.

During the fall of 1840 the Mokelumne Indians became so troublesome, it is said, that open war was made against them and they were soon subdued ^{an} "and ^{an} enduring peace established".

Soon "Sutter conquered the entire Sacramento Valley, bringing into willing subjection many of those who had been his fiercest enemies. In time he made them cultivate the soil, build his fort, care for the stock, and make themselves general useful. In the subsequent military history of California, Sutter and his Indians were a power" (pp 8-9)

^{June} In ^{June} 1841 Sutter received a grant of eleven leagues of land under the title 'New Helvétia', and during the summer of ^{the same year} ~~1841~~ was visited by a party under Captain Ringgold of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition.

About the same time the Russian Governor of Ross and Bodega

sold to Sutter the Russian possessions in these places, including 2000 cattle, 1000 horses, 50 mules and 25000 sheep.

During the years when emigrants were entering California by way of passes in the middle Sierra, New Helvetia was a haven of rest and Sutter's hospitality and generosity were proverbial. On one occasion when news reached Sutter of the starving condition of a party of emigrants on their way through the mountains, ~~Sutter~~^{he} immediately sent to their rescue 2 Indian boys with seven mules loaded with supplies. The emigrants ^{first} ate the supplies, then killed and ate the 7 mules and ^{the} 2 Indian boys.

Foremont, who visited Sutter in March 1844, said : "The ditches around his extensive wheat fields; the making of the sun-dried brick of which his fort is constructed; the plowing, harrowing and other agricultural operations, are entirely the work of Indians, for which they receive a very moderate compensation--principally in shirts and blankets and other articles of clothing. In the same manner, on application to the Chief of a village, he readily obtains as many boys and girls as he has any use for. There were at this time a number

John A. Sutter--3

of girls at the fort, in training for a future woolen factory, but they were now all busily engaged in constantly watering the gardens.

. . . . He had this year sown, and altogether by Indian labor, 300 bushels of wheat".--Davis, History Sacramento Co, California, pp.8-10,

1890

Viader - San Jose to San Jacinto R.

1810

VIADER'S DIARIES: EXPEDITIONS FROM SAN JOSE TO SAN JOAQUIN RIVER, 1810

The following is a free translation of diaries kept by Padre José Viader on two expeditions under Alferez Gabriel Moraga from San José to the San Joaquin River, made for the purpose of exploring sites for missions, the first in August, the second in October, 1810.

The diaries mention the following tribes or rancherias: Apaglamenes or Apelamanes, Aupimis, Cholvones, Cuyens, Jatives, Jarquines, Jomchom, Jusmites, Mayem, Taualamas, Tugites.

The translation was made in 1917 from MS copies of Viader's diaries in the Bancroft Library:

1. Diario o noticia del viage que acabo de hacer por mandado del Señor Gobernador y Padre Presidente, con el objeto de buscar parages o sitios para fundar misiones, desde el 15 hasta el 28 de Agosto de 1810. Arch. Sta. Barbara, Vol. IV, pp. 73-84.

2. Diario del P. José Viader desde 19 hasta 27 de Octubre de 1810. Arch. Sta. Barbara, Vol. IV, pp. 85-94.

The translation was carefully compared in 1919 with the original Viader diaries at the mission of Santa Barbara [8vo. MSS numbered 509 & 536]. Typographical errors in rancheria names in the copy of the diary in the Bancroft Library are given in footnotes to this translation.

Dr. H. I. Priestley in an article on Expeditions sent out from the California Missions (in galley proof, not published) gives an abstract of the Viader diaries and his identifications of localities are here given in footnotes.

An abstract of the Viader diaries is also given in Bancroft, Hist. of Calif., II, pp. 56-57 Footnotes, 1886.

Viader's Diary of First Expd. to San Joaquin under Moraga

"Diary or account of a trip just completed at the [74]
command of the Governor and Reverend Fathers for the purpose
of finding sites for founding missions, from August 15-28, 1810.

August 15, 1810.-- At 5:30 P.M. we set out from the
Mission of San Jose with Alferez Gabriel Moraga, the cadet
Raymundo Estrada, a captain, 3 soldiers, and 4 neophytes from
my Mission of Santa Clara, and after traveling 6 leagues north
came to a spring of good water situated in the west part of the
valley called San Jose. We did not have to deviate from our
road to search for this place as it was so near and known to
all, and the day ended with no news of importance.

August 16.-- Today following the same road to the
north we went about 6 leagues before noon and having killed
2 bears and a very large elk halted for lunch at the source
of an arroyo called De los Nogales [walnut trees]. The water [75]
of this arroyo although good was very low. In the afternoon
following the same course we traveled another 6 leagues, killing
an elk and an antelope and observing good lands and groves of
trees all without water, and came at nightfall to the end of the
Arroyo de los Nogales, and the beginning of some esteros to the
NW of a famous plain well covered with trees (among others large
walnut trees).

August 17. -- We spent the day (without moving camp) in [75]
 exploring the plain and surrounding hills which is the country
 of the Jarquines[✓], who are all or nearly all Christians of
 San Francisco. We saw the mouth of the two rivers, one flowing
 from the north and the other from the southeast, which unite
 and enter the one of the esteros that comes from San Francisco.
 In all this country remarkable for its good lands, its wood,
 and walnuts, we have found no water except one lagoon of poor
 water and another of good water, although there is a water-hole
 that still has a little water together with a ditch near the
 estero where they say is the rancheria of the Jarquines[✓]. I
 have heard it said that this Arroyo de los Nogales has very [76]
 little water, but that does not seem likely to me. Today we
 have killed 3 bears and 11 elk.

August 18. -- We set out early from this place and going
 to the east crossed the sierra madre and after 7 leagues came
 to the San Joaquin River, or as they call it the River of the
 Tulares, which is about a quarter of a league wide and seems to
 be very deep, and experiences tides from the ocean. Here we
 halted to eat between this river and a very large oak grove.
 They say this land belongs to the Julpunes[✓], but we saw no
 sign or track of gentile. This would be a good place for a
 mission if there were water or if it could be taken out from

Spellings in copy in Bancroft Library: ^{✓1}Tarquines, ^{✓12}Tulpunes

3.
the river, because the land is good and well wooded with [76]
oak and live oak. In the afternoon we went 2 leagues further
east through oaks and good land, but without water except
that of the river. This place also belongs to the Tulpunes,
who did not allow themselves to be seen.

Aug. 19. -- At daybreak we set out to the southeast and [77]
after having gone 10 leagues through bad land and a shore of
tulare and bog, we came to a lagoon in the midst of an oak
grove where we could not approach the river nor turn backward,
at the rancheria of the Cholvones or pescadero [fishermen].
Here we stayed all the rest of the day and night and our inter-
preter whom we sent to the Cholvones returned with a gentile
named Guañats, and with sufficient fish, and said that the
Christians who fled from San Jose were on the other side between
the river and a lagoon. All these lands are good and have wood,
but the overflow from the rivers floods them from the beginning
of the heat until August.

August 20. -- Traveling to the SSE some distance from
the river because of the bogs, we passed opposite a rancheria
of gentiles called Aupimis without halting and went on opposite
another rancheria whose chief was called Jomchom¹² having gone [78]
about 3 leagues in the morning. We halted here but no gentile
permitted himself to be seen. In the afternoon after 2½ leagues

Spellings in copy in Bancroft Library: ¹¹Tulpunes, ¹²Tomchom

more on the same road, we arrived opposite a rancheria whose [78]
 chief was called Cuyens, well-known and also a friend of
 our interpreter. He came forward when we called him and we
 found 15 other gentiles with a great deal of fish which
 they gave us. We camped here for the night and 4 of the
 gentiles wanted to stay with us. The others went away saying
 that they would return with more fish in the morning, which
 they did; and more gentiles came, and this kept up all day.
 Not a good place for a mission for the country is inundated
 in places for more than a league.

August 21.-- We set out and the gentiles followed us
 to another rancheria whose chief is called Mayem, ¹³ 2½ or
 3 leagues further on the same road. A little before reach-
 ing here we found an arroyo without water, but with signs
 that in time of water it would have a good deal, and most
 of the land seen up to here is very high. The gentiles [79]
 of this rancheria came although with much fear and after
 having received tobacco and other things they disappeared,
 except for those of Cuyens. In the afternoon after 2 leagues
 on the same road we came to a rancheria whose chief is called
Bozenats. The gentiles that let themselves be seen on the
 other side of the river did not^{at} all want to come when we
 called them, but these on the other hand called to us with

great haughtiness. They said also that they had no Christian fugitives and finally that they would come in the morning. If the country through which we have gone today had water or if it could be taken from the San Joaquin River, this would not be a bad place to establish a mission, for the land is good and it does not lack wood. [79]

August 22.--The gentiles that said they would come, did not come; and we set out on the same road SSE and after having gone about 2 leagues 30 gentiles let themselves be seen on the opposite of the river. They were armed and when called by the interpreter, did not want to come and told us to go away immediately, threatening us and showing signs of wanting to fight. It is said that the Christian fugitives from Santa Clara and Santa Cruz are here, and the name of the natives is Apaglamenes. Seeing that they would not come to us we kept on the same road and after another league halted opposite another rancheria whose name is Jativnes¹ where also it is said there are Christian fugitives. Shortly after our arrival the gentile Apaglamenes, whom I spoke of before, and these other Jativnes¹, all armed and well painted and feathered, appeared on both sides of the river, 6 of them on our side and within gunshot. These [80]

Spelling in copy in Bancroft Library: ¹Tationes

6 were about to shoot at the interpreter who had gone to
call and pacify them and also at Capt. Barryessa, who went
to call the interpreter. The Alferez, seeing this and that
those on the other side of the river spoke with insolence,
ordered that they be told to go away if they did not want
to be shot, and as they responded with greater insolence,
he shot into the air to convince them, and ~~at that~~ that they
began to shoot at us and the soldiers at them. The
battle was not of much account for the soldiers did not
exceed 12 shots and as they found afterward only one gen-
tile was hurt or perhaps more, because the shots went into
the forest. The soldier Morales set out to fight with his
chin half shaved and the other half soaped. There was
no more casualty on our side. Where we have gone today
the land is also high in some places and does not lack
wood, but it has no water.

In the afternoon we set out by the same road and
when we started we saw some gentiles from afar; and
having gone some three leagues we stopped by the side
of a lagoon, away from the river and near some ditches.
All the country traversed this afternoon has neither
wood nor good land.

[80]

[81]

Aug. 23. -- Today after some $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues on the same road, without being able to approach the river because of the esteros, canadas and bogs, we had to stop in a place without shade near an arroyo or arm of the river, and because it was so hot we went in bathing. The water of the arroyo is warm, and after this siesta we continued on about the same road and after four leagues it was night and without hope of finding the river we camped by the side of a lagoon. [82]
All our journey today was through lowlands, tular, and lagoons and for this reason would not serve for a Mission.

Aug. 24. -- Very early and fasting, and considering we were opposite Soledad and the low and marshy land that would last until near San Miguel, we determined to return and taking the road west and after some 4 leagues of chamisal, we had chocolate, and then continuing by the same road for 6 leagues more, we came to a place called San Luis Gonzaga.¹ Here we stopped for the afternoon and also the next morning to explore the place which at first seemed good to us.

¹ Priestley says: "The pass named San Luis Gonzaga, the modern San Luis Creek."

Aug. 25.--[No water except a few springs and a small arroyo, so decided it would not do for mission site.]

Aug. 26.--Setting out from this place in the morning and taking the road SW we began (after a little plain of [83] about a league to ascend the mountain for about 6 leagues in all including the little plain and camped at its foot in an arroyo without water except in a few springs, and in it we caught 40 fish including 6 salamanders. After 3 more leagues on the same road we came to an arroyo called de los Ausaymas, which is already in the plain of San Juan Bautista. This place is suitable for a rancho because it has water, wood, and good land.

Aug. 27.--Crossing the plain by the same road SW, after 5 leagues we came to the Mission of San Juan Bautista.

San Juan Bautista, Aug. 28, 1810,

[Signed] F. José Viader"

Viader's Diary of 2nd Expd. to San Joaquin under Moraga

"Oct. 19, 1810.--Set out at 2 this afternoon from the mission [San José] in company with Alf. Gabriel Moraga and 23 other soldiers and some 50 armed Christians, and after 6 leagues to the NE stopped to pass the night in the valley of San José near a ditch that has good water. [86]

Oct. 20.--To this valley of the Pescadero or Cholvones¹³ we have come about 9 leagues to the ENE, arriving at night in order not to be seen or heard and marshalled our forces to fall upon a dance of gentiles and fugitive Christians.

Oct. 21.--Before daybreak we attacked a rancheria on this side of the river and only one Christian from San José named Bernardo escaped, who had remained asleep outside the ran- [87]
cheria. He swam off in the direction to warn the dancers and for this reason we fell immediately on another rancheria that was on the other side of the river and caught all of them. The prisoners totaled: 15 Christians from San José and 18 gentile men and 51 gentile women. The Alferez gave the latter their liberty and they went away, well content. The remainder of the day we rested enjoying salmon and fresh sturgeon. Two of the Christian prisoners had escaped. . . All this place and the neighboring lands are inundated at the overflow of the rivers every winter and the gentiles live on some

¹³Priestley says: "This village has left the name Pescadero, from its fishing activities, on the southern part of Union Island."

very small hills. For this reason it would not be a good place to found a mission. [87]

Oct. 22.-- In the morning, Capt. Pico with 7 other soldiers and the neophytes went with the Christians and gentile prisoners in the direction of San Jose and the west of us with a gentile called Guanats went up the road SE among oaks, ditches, lagoons and flooded places. We found also 4 gen- [88]
gathering seeds
tiles, who were very content to meet people well-disposed to them and after having gone about $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues further we stopped to eat between 2 lagoons and in front of the Jusmites Indians. From here, in the afternoon, on the same road, after another $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues we passed the night in front of the tugites Indians. All the country we have seen up to here has wood, and water from the river, but the land is low, inundated and without stone.

Oct. 23.-- In the morning we began our journey on the same road, always following the river with the idea of crossing it, and on the way friendly Indians whom we knew from the rancheria of Cuyens came out to us with presents of very large and beautifully colored salmon, and then accompanied us to the rancheria of Mayem, where we stopped [89]
to eat, having gone about $4\frac{1}{2}$ leagues since morning.

Here we made good presents to our Indian benefactors and companions and some also to these others of Mayem who had just

come with much fear and with more appetite for lying. [89]
 Knowing that they had in their rancheria fugitive Christians from Santa Clara, they denied it, and also said that they would not again harbour them. Notwithstanding the trouble they would make for us, the Alferez said that he should seize them, but would do it on the return trip so that they would not avenge themselves on us now. In the afternoon after sending off all the gentiles, we set out on the same road and after about 2 leagues in front of a rancheria that was called Tauvalames^b we found a ford in the river, but very poor, because it was so broad and deep and had such a bad entrance. We passed over without incident and then halted to pass the night. We dispatched a boy to the rancheria to call out the fugitive Christians and offer them pardon and he returned with 6 gentiles who, full of fear, said that all the Christians had gone back to the Mission and that they [90] would not keep them again; but they lied. Finally they told us that they would take us to the rancheria, and that in the morning they would return; so we sent them off. Nowhere today have we found a suitable spot for a mission.

Oct. 24.-- We got up early and without moving camp, set out with the Alferez and 4 soldiers to the N thinking to reach the Dolores River, which was found after 2 or 3 leagues, but there were so many marshes, ditches,

^bPriestley says: "This would indicate, as the Muñoz diary did, that this village [Tauvalames] was at the Stanislaus."

and lagoons that we turned as we could only see the [90]
 high lands or where the floods had not come up, and it
 was as bad or worse on the other or W side. We also
 went into the rancheria and found only a dog and a
 tame crow. The boy went into the grove and they did not
 want to come, so we went to eat. In the afternoon we
 set out on the same road SE up the river and passed in
 front of the Apelamenes and Jatives Indians, whom we
 had fought at another time. We did not go in thinking the
 houses were empty, and also because of the ditch and
 lagoon. After having gone about 6 leagues and observ- [91]
 ing that the high land that is not flooded by the river
 is very poor and very far from the river or from wood,
 we came to another river, the Merced, that flows from the
 E and joins the San Joaquin. We crossed it, the horses
 almost swimming. Here there is much wood on both sides
 of the river, oak, live oak, poplar, sabino [juniper?],
 willow, etc; but it is also known that the waters in
 summer cover much of the land and these only appear to
 be good now.

Oct. 25.-- In the morning we set out from here to the SW
 with the idea of crossing the San Joaquin River, that is
 to the W of where we slept, and a little while after we

Spelling in copy in Bancroft Library: Tationes

started we found an old rancheria on a height, whose [91]
lands already had a little pasture, but there was no
stone and most of the place was between the very full
rivers. We came to the San Joaquin in one long league
and crossed it, and then several other boggy ditches.
From here S there are no trees and only tularé and then
more tularé. It seems to me that the Merced River cannot
be confined not only because of the soil which is pure
sand, but also because now it is very encajonado [boxed].

I should say the same of the San Joaquin and all the [92]
more because its floor is so level that the currents are
very smooth at the same time that the waters are deep. At
this place we turned back down the San Joaquin River and
after $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues arrived at the place of our encounter. . .
I did not see but one gentile in the distance at the
time of our arrival. We left a sick horse. The place
is a little high, but only the inundated lands have
grass, and there is no stone until you come to the moun-
tain which is about 3 leagues to the W. In the after-
noon we set out on the same road down the river and
after a league came to the arroyo of Orestimac opposite
the Apalamenes, companions of the Jatives when they
fought us. This arroyo that comes from the mountain
had no water now, but it is known that in the time of
water it is full and even overflows. This place is the

least undesirable of the many that there are on this [92] side of the river, but at that it would not serve to found a mission. It has only wood, water from the river and plenty of good fishing. We went on and after another 2 leagues came opposite the Tanalamas Indians, who called [93] by the boy, their kinsman, did not want to come, saying they were afraid and rightly so, for they had them [fugitives] concealed. From here inasmuch as those of the Mayem would come to us as little, and as it was now late, we went to the W and after 3 leagues on the plain came to the arroyo of Corpus Christi, where we passed the night without water for the horses. We had to dig a well in the sand.

Oct. 26.-- We set out early to the W and after 6 leagues of mountain and poor road came to a place named previously El Toro [the bull] where we ate and also fed and watered the horses. In the afternoon by about the same road after 6 leagues of very bad road we came at night to a little plain with some springs of good water, and to this place we have given the name of San Guillermo.

Oct. 27.-- From San Guillermo in 6 leagues on the same road we came to eat at the old rancheria of the Paleños, and from here in the afternoon in 5 leagues to the NW we arrived at the Mission, gracias a Dios.

Viader, Diario ó Noticia del Viage que acabo de hacer por
mandato del Sr Gobernador y Padre Presidente, con el objeto
de buscar parages ó Sitios para fundar Misiones, Agosto 1810,
MS. August 15th, left Mission San José and went six
leagues N to a spring in San José Valley. 16th, 6 l.N to
source of Nogales Cr.; 6 l.N to mouth of same stream in
sloughs extending NE. 17th, explorations of the plains about
the mouths of the great rivers in the lands of the Tarquines
(Carquines?), no facilities for a mission for lack of water.
18th, 7 l.E over range of mountains to the Rio de San Joa-
quin, or as it is also called Rio de los Tulares, in the land
of the Tulpunes; 2 l.E. 19th, 10 l.SE along edge of the
tules to a lagoon in an oak grove, at or near the rancheria
of Pescadero in the country of the Cholbones. 20th, 3 l.SE
past Aupimis to opposite Tomchom; 2.5 l.to Cuyens. 21st, 3 l.
past a dry creek, to Maijem; 2 l.to Bozenats. 22d, 3 l.SE to
Tationes and Apaglamenes; 3 l.to some lagoons (all these ran-
cherias were on the other side of the river, and the travel-
lers simply arrived opposite them. Most of the names were
those of the chiefs). 23d, 4 l.to a lagoon. 24th, turned
west and in 10 l.reached San Luis Gonzaga. 25th, explorations.
26th, SW over the mountains, 9 l.to Ausaymas Cr. 27th, 5 l.
SW to San Juan Bautista.--Verbatim footnote in Bancroft,
Hist.Calif., II, 56, ~~ft~~ 1885.

[See also notes from diary of expedition in October 1810.]

p. 56

Viader, Diario de una Entrada al Rio de San Joaquin, Octubre 1810, MS. October 19th and 21st, from San José Mission NE and ENE to ranheria of the Cholbones, or Pescadero, on the San Joaquin. 22d, Corporal Pico sent home with captives. Up river SE 2 l.to opposite to Tugites. 23d, ^{p. 57} 4 l.up river SE, meeting ⁵⁷ some Cuyens, to Mayemes; 2 l.to ford, and crossed near Taua-ames. 24th, tried to reach the Rio Dolores 2 or 3 l. NW from camp; 6 l.SSE up river past the Apelamenes, or Tationes, to Rio Merced. 25th, reforded the San Joaquin 1 l.above the Merced; 3.5 l.down the river to Orestima~~c~~ Arroyo opposite the Apelamenes; 2 l.to opposite Taua-ames; 3 l.~~W~~west to Arroyo of Corpus Christi. 26th, 6 l.W across the hills to El Toro; 6 l.to springs and little plain of San Guillermo. 27th, 6 l. W to ranheria of the Paleños; 5 l.to Mission Santa Clara. It is to be noted that Viader's original diary in my possession and that copied from the archives of Santa Barbara do not exactly agree in some details.--Verbatim footnote from Bancroft, Hist.Calif., II, 56-57, 1885.

[See also notes from diary of expedition in August 1810.]

Expeditions to "The Tulares"

Cabot	1814
Estudillo	1819
Martin	1804
Martinez	1816
Ortega & Pico	1815
Portilla	1824
Rodriguez	1828

FATHER MARTIN'S REPORT OF A VISIT TO RANCHERIA BUBAL IN THE TULARES, 1804.

^{very}
My venerable Father Jose Senan. On the 4th of April of this year, the Rev. Father Prefect asked me to inform your Reverence concerning the condition of the gentiles near this mission and their disposition to receive holy baptism. Complying with your orders, I say frankly that they have shown good will toward the soldiers who at different times have been there; also toward the Fathers who have gone there; and even toward the neophytes, who have visited in the Tular region on many occasions. Their good will would probably be constant if it were not that the runaway Indians from the N make them hostile. Such was the case of the last wanderers who came from one of the Tulare rancherias called Tache, I was told. Indians on horseback had arrived telling them that the Fathers do nothing but kill Indians. Satan does all that is possible to influence more than 4000 souls who could be placed on the road to salvation if a mission were placed in the tular region. I said this to the Gov. J.J. Arrillaga several times, although I saw he was inclined to found one along the river. In fact in spite of the high opinion I had of the said gentleman I asked him on one occasion when he spoke to me, or rather when he asked what I thought of new foundations in the Tular region, Sir, why do you wish to place a mission where they might not want one? Is it not for the purpose

of killing soldiers and fathers and then the conquest will be taken away from us? Moreover there is more reason that those who wish and those who ask for one may first of all become children of God, for those who do not desire a mission and do not ask for one, take up arms against the soldiers that come to their territory. Father Pedro Munoz, Senor Moraga and myself can prove this. In order that your Reverence may give attention to it, I shall place before you what I saw in the year 1804 in the rancheria of Bubal when I went with only two soldiers for escorts.

I was repeatedly informed by the neophytes of the neighboring rancherias in the Tular region, that the Tular Indians wished to see me, that they were friendly, and that they wanted me to baptize their children.

At last they told me to come without fear and I confess I went without permission from anyone. I went in the month of November of said year. On the 3rd day, I arrived at the first rancheria Bubal, which I named La Salve. As soon as they saw me, the gentiles knocked at some of the houses for the gentile women, and when they saw that we were coming peacefully, they came out to make a fire in order to warm up the Father's dinner, which they did, burning sticks, which they brought from a distance of more than 8 leagues. They had to do this when the Indians of the near

villages gathered together for a feast. Neither did they burn them although it was certainly very cold and within a few leagues not even a chamisal could be found. In the afternoon those from the heart of said rancheria came to ask me to go where they were, saying that the place I was had few people and has no children to be baptized. I promised to go on the following day, which I did. As soon as I arrived, they brought their little children for me to baptize and there were many of them so that the two soldiers who accompanied me said, "It is well." At the best there were not less than 200 children that we have seen. Seeing such a harvest, your Reverence may imagine how happy I would be on seeing so many little children reach Heaven. But Satan, always the tempter, made it then so that not one could be gained.

It happened that the chief was not at this place (which I named La Dolorosa) so that it was necessary for me to call him for I did not dare to take them without his consent. A gentile was acting captain and so I put before him the reason for my visit which was to make of them children of God. My proposition did not please him and he began to challenge the soldiers to a fight in spite of his own poor arms. The poor fellows who had given me their

✓
little children, perhaps frightened, marched away in files, and I remained without anyone.

This man's name was Chape. The next day I censured him as much as I could for his wicked way of procedure and although I was tempted to order him punished, thanks be to God, I contented myself with the above, saying, thinking that one of the soldiers was the one in charge of the escort, and that the Father and soldiers must hope for a just reprimand in case that we are the injured, and I abandoned my undertaking which was not to return home without visiting the other rancherias and to bring back as many little boys as they could give me. Finally I returned home entirely disconsolate for having lost, on account of a malicious fellow, such a harvest for Heaven. I note that this person was taken to Monterey and that he has repented in such a manner that I believe he would be one of the first ones to receive the salutary waters of baptism.

Martin, Fr. Juan. Visita a los gentiles tularenos. 1804.
Arch. Sta. Barbara, Vol. VI, pp. 85-9, Bancroft Library.

EXPEDITIONS TO RANCHERIAS OF TULARE LAKE, 1804, 1814.

Reports of 2 expeditions from San Miguel Mission to the Tulare region are given in the Mission Archives. The first [86] by Padre Juan Martin, 1804, mentions rancherias of Bubal, Tache, Chumtache, Notonto and Telame. Martin writes:

^{first} "I started out on the 3 day of November and came to the [87] place of the rancheria Bubal, to which I gave the name La Salve."

Martin - Vista a los Gentiles Tulareños, 1804, Archivos de la Mision de Santa Barbara. Extracts made for Bancroft library, Vol. VI, pp. 86, 87, 1876.

The second is in a letter from Padre Juan Cabot to the President, April 11, 1815, and is a diary of an expedition which went with him to the Valley of the Tulares in 1814.

Oct. 2, 1814. -- Set out from mission of San Miguel. At 8 at night camped at a little water hole that there is at [67] the edge of the plain of the Tulare.

Oct. 3.-- At daybreak followed the road through an immense plain of arid land without trees, water, ... It was about 2 in the afternoon when we came to the first rancheria called Bubal which was on the edge of a thick, high tule and a lake. The reception that the natives of this rancheria [68] gave us was a very happy one, they prepared a house for me, and set out their poor food which they offered to the soldiers with much pleasure... This rancheria had about 700 people... The following day after having said mass we crossed the tule [69]

in search of the rancheria of Sumtache which contained about the same number of people as the preceding. We spent all day so that we could approach at night in order not to be seen and to enter the rancheria at day break. The object of this expedition was to pacify said rancheria and reconcile them with that of Bubal... but as they had been informed of our arrival and falsely informed that we were going to kill them (as they told us afterwards) they received us with arrows to defend themselves, until at 10 o'clock because of our balls and powder they had to withdraw, but they did not want to set out to the tular; only the captain went accompanied by some 7 to make peace with those of the rancheria of Bubal, so that now in truth they live as if they were one rancheria... After seeing the two rancherias at peace we set out for the river called San Gabriel which we reached at 4 in the afternoon and where we rested that night... It is known that from here one leaves the hilly country to enter the plain; as far as this place it is necessary to carry water and wood... Said river of San Gabriel[↓] is very full and of good water... The rancheria of the oaks of Telame, as the soldiers said, is 3 leagues from ^{the ford of} this river. We did not arrive at this rancheria by arrangement [71] of the Sergeant. This place is the only one, as those who have been here say, where a Mission or presidio could be founded. Said rancheria, according to information, is the

↓ One of the many confluent of the Kaweah system near Visalia (Priestley)

largest one of the tularé. El Pedro Munoz who was there can inform Your Excellency. The following day we stopped at the river in order to go round the lake for the purpose of reaching the rancheria of Tachi, but 2 leagues before coming to said rancheria we found another called Guchame, but all the people were frightened and had gone into the tule. This rancheria I am informed has not more than 200 People. About two in the afternoon we finally came to said rancheria of Tache which as I am informed, and from the houses, has about 1000 people. But we found only 36 men and 6 women, because the other people had hidden in the tularé and lake and although we were near this rancheria for 2 days on the bank of the river Reyes, we could see no one, except the few we had seen before, for they had abandoned the rancheria"

Juan Cabot - Expedition al Valle de los Tulares, 1814.
Archivos de la Mision de Santa Barbara. Extracts made for
Bancroft Library, Vol. VI, pp. 67-72, 1876.

Dr. H. S. Priestley in an article on Expeditions from California Missions (galley proof, unpublished) gives a brief abstract of Cabot's diary. His identifications of localities are here given in footnotes.

SANTA BARBARA TO SAN EMIGDIO IN PLAIN OF TULARES.

Portilla, Diario de una Expedicion al Tular, 1824, MS.

Marched June 2 from Santa Barbara . . . "To S. Buenaventura, where he remained until June 5th. Up the Sta Clara River 15 leagues to Camulos rancho, where the S. Fernando sheep were kept. Up the river 3 l. to S. Javier rancho; NE, over a summit named by Sarria S. Norberto, to the spot named Espiritu Santo from the day, 5 l. Over the hills, past an arroyo called Tinoco to Alamos, 8 l.; over the plain, past the Salinas de Cortés, into the Cañada de Uvas, to ^[site of old Ft. Tejon] Sta Teresa de Jesus, a fine site, 6 l. Three leagues more through the Cajon to the plain, whence the ^[Kern Lake] Lake Misjanim was seen 6 l. toward the N; over the plain, leaving the lake to the right, to S. Emigdio, ^[June 8-16] which was 9 l. from the mouth of the Cajon de Uvas and 5 or 6 l. from the lake. The camp of the rebels was at Mitocha. The rancheria of Tulali is mentioned on or near the lake. The return was by Malapica; Camup, Cuyam, Casitec named S. Pablo; Seguaya, or S. Gervasio Creek; down the creek to Sta Inés River, down the river 3 l. to Ciénegas rancho or ^[June 21] Trinidad; to S. Roque and half a league to Sta Barbara Mission."

--Bancroft, Hist. Calif., II, 535 ft. note, 1885.

EXPEDITIONS TO RANCHERIAS OF TULARE LAKE REGION, 1815

The following are translations of diaries kept by Sergeants Juan de Ortega and José Dolores Pico, commanders of two expeditions sent out in November 1815 from the Mission of San Juan Bautista and San Miguel to look for runaway Indians in the vicinity of Tulare Lake and Kings River.

The expedition visited the rancherias of Bubal, Cheneches, Chenem, Cholam, Choynoct, Copicha or Cupicha, Gumilchis, Malim, Nopchenches, Nototonto, Tache, and Tape.

The diaries are accompanied by a letter from Ortega to Governor Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, dated San Juan Bautista, December 3, 1815, and reporting his part of the expedition before he joined Pico.

The translations are from original MSS in the Huntington Collection of the Bancroft Library.

Ortega, Juan de. Diario que forma el sargento . . . Don Juan de Ortega segun los sitios que por orden del Senor Govor. se me mando registrar contando desde el dia 4 de Noviembre hasta el dia que se junto con el sargento José Dolores Pico en el Rio de Reyes. MS 1815.

Pico, José Dolores. Diario que forma el sargento José Dolores Pico por orden del Senor Govor. Don Pablo Vincēte de Sola desde el dia tres de Noviembre del año de 1815.

Letter: Juan de Ortega to Gov. Tente Conl. y Govor. Don Pablo Vicente de Sola.

Diary kept by Sergeant Juan de Ortega, according to the sites explored under the order of the Senor Governor, from the 4th day of November to the day he joined Sergeant Jose Dolores Pico on Kings River. [In 1815]

November 4.--About 10 o'clock at night I reached the Mission of San Miguel with a party of 15 men, which on the same night united with a party the same size from Monterey.

November 5.--Today I set out from this mission accompanied by the Rev. Father Juan Cabot, together with the aforementioned party. We passed the night at the place of Cholan.

November 6.--We spent all day in this place resting the horses.

November 7.--We started out at daybreak and went to spend the night at Chenem, remained here until the sunset of the 8th, traveling all night in order not to be seen by the Indians, as we were on the plain of the Tular, and as it was a country without trail or road, the guide and all of us lost our way without knowing where we were. But on sending Captain Juan Arroyo and another soldier with the guide to explore, they returned after a long time with the news that we were near Kings River. I at once ordered the men to spur on their horses, and even with that we did not reach the crossing of the river until daybreak.

November 8.--Knowing it was fruitless to fall upon the rancheria of Tache on this day as the sun was already up, I decided to remain all day, hidden all day in a bend made by the river, and by good fortune they seized two old Indians who came to fish, and were returning to their rancheria of Tache. They told us where we were. On the same afternoon at sunset I decided to send two men on horseback, hidden in the winding of the river, to stop these Indians who were going to their rancheria. After a little two Indians appeared before them on horseback by the same plain of the river, with their beasts in sight, and one of them loaded with fish, which they were carrying in this way to their rancheria, but seeing that they were to be attacked by the soldiers they abandoned horses and saddles, and swam across the river, and because of the darkness of the night, the river, the tule, and the forest, it was impossible to catch them. The soldier Martin Ilibera knew from the saddle that it belonged to the runaway Indian Antonio, from the Mission of La Soledad.

November 10.--At daybreak I fell upon the rancheria of Tache. (Although very low-spirited over the news which I suspected the two fugitive Indians gave them in the night). And in truth I found the rancheria without people, and after going a little way met three armed Indians/ I spoke to them through the interpreter. The answer that they gave us was that they were afraid, and hid within the tule of the lake here. I stayed here until about nine o'clock in

the morning calling to them, the Father joining in with me, so that finally some 8 or 9 appeared unarmed, but keeping within the lake and tule, no urgency availing to bring them out, for they told us that all their people were hidden in the marsh, frightened because the fugitive Indians and other run-away Christian Indians from La Soledad had told them that they were going to kill them all at the point of the lance. Three horses were found here, one from San Miguel and two from La Soledad, which the runaway Indians had. These Indians informed us that the Indian Antonio with his companions the preceding night had taken the road for the rancheria of Notonto for the purpose of anticipating our visit to this rancheria, so that we did not succeed in taking a large number of these prisoners. But it was a mistake, for we arrived shortly before sunset at this rancheria and were received with much friendliness by the Indians, who set out to receive us on the road, telling us of their poverty, and that these two fugitives had not arrived there. Then the father and some soldiers dismounted and visited the rancheria. We withdrew a little distance from it and camped about a gun-shot away, where the Indians came to serve the troop bringing wood and water.

November 11.--At daybreak the Indians came back and took leave of us with much courtesy, taking us on the road to the rancheria of Telame, where we arrived at sunset.

We found this ranheria greatly scattered because of the great mortality that there was there and the famine which had been predicted. But they received us with much pleasure, giving us their unfortunates, and the Father succeeded in baptizing 4 women who were very old and dying.

November 12.--We set out in search of the ranheria of Choynoct. It took us almost all day before we were able to locate it, finding it in the same way and under the same conditions as the preceding one. From here we went to spend the night up the river of San Gabriel.

November 13.--We set out to pass the night at the crossing of this river.

November 14.--We took the road for the ranheria of Sumtache, and after we had gone about a league ^{and a half} within the tule by a narrow path, we came to the ranheria with from 20 to 30 armed men on the other side of an arm of the lake. After we had spoken with them and told them why we had come, they disarmed themselves and several of them came to where we were. Reproached because they received the troop in this way, they answered that they were afraid because the run-away Indians from La Soledad had told them that the people from La Soledad were coming to kill them all. The Father asked them where the 4 Indians were who set out from his mission to run away to this ranheria. They answered that two of them had gone to the ranheria of Buval to unite with the Christians who had been permitted to go there, and so it proved, and that the other two had gone the preceding week to the ranheria of Tulamne to the

south. After instructing them concerning the order of the Senor Governor that they were not to take in any runaways whatever, we went on our way to the rancheria of Bubal, where we arrived at 11 o'clock at night, because they had moved from their regular site and the guide did not know it. We were received here with as much pleasure as at the former rancherias.

November 15.--At daybreak we set out on our way to unite with the party of Sergeant Dolores Pico, and accomplished it at 7 o'clock in the morning. On all our way we did not find any horses slaughtered by the Indians, or wrong intent on their part, except for the fear which the runaway Indians from Soledad had inspired in the rancherias of Tache and Sumtache. I omitted to mention that in the rancheria of Tache the Father baptized a single man whom, overcome with leprosy and sickness, we found in this rancheria.

On the remainder of the expedition, until December 2, I joined in the diary which Sergeant Dolores Pico kept, because there was nothing else to add.

Mission of San Juan Bautista, December 2, 1815.

[Signed] Juan de Ortega

Diary kept by Sergeant Jose Dolores Pico by order of Senor Governor Don Pablo Vicente de Sola from November 3, 1815.

November 3.--I set out from the Presidio for the rancho of Real Hacienda , where I joined the troop under my command. Nothing of importance happened today.

November 4.-- Today I reviewed the troops, munitions, and arms, and at 5 o'clock in the afternoon set out on my march traveling toward the place of the Ausainas, and at about 7 o'clock at night I arrived with a soldier from the Mission of San Juan, where I found the Rev. Father Jaime Escude, and reviewing the troop which was to set out with me from this mission, we set out on our way, the Father with us, at a quarter past twelve at night. We overtook the other troop in the Arroyo of San Benito at about 1 o'clock in the morning without incident.

November 5.--We went on our way toward the place cited.. There I found the citizens Cornelio Lucas, Altamira, Manuel Pinto, and Quintin Ortega, all with arms and horses. I remained here the rest of the day. . .

November 6.--We set out from this place at about 5 o'clock in the morning going toward the east, and at about 7 o'clock at night reached the place of San Luis Gonzaga, which is at the foot of the range at the edge of the valley of Tulares. Here we passed the night without event.

November 7.--In the morning I again reviewed the troop and the munitions, and at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon we set out traveling toward the east, and at 12 o'clock at night reached the Culares at the arroyo called San Jose, where we crossed, remaining there through the night until it was time to fall upon the rancheria of the Cheneches.

November 8.-- At about 3 o'clock in the morning we set out from this place and fell upon this rancheria at 4 o'clock. Sixty-six Indians, gentiles and Christians, men and women, were captured. Of them we released 4 men and 12 old women. The greater part of these people had gone away because this rancheria was in a poor place. We found here 9 horses alive and 5 dead. There was not much time and the Father baptized a little girl who was dying to whom he gave the name of Severa. These people informed ^{me} that about 4 leagues up the San Joaquin River where there was another rancheria called the Nopchenches, there were many horses, and that the Christian runaways Justo Damian, Severo and Pedro Pablo were there. I sent Captain Juarez with 14 men to seize these Christians and gentiles and to bring back the horses which they said were there. Finding the rancheria they went in, but it had no people. Only the chief and 4 of his companions remained. The captain charged him with the Christians and horses that were there, to which he responded that all his people and all the Christians as soon as they heard the news of the troop that went to the other rancheria, had departed for the tule, and that he alone with these others remained. That he had an idea that they had taken the horses with them to the edge of this tule. and that there

were two who would go to bring them back. This he did, and when he returned the captain told him to call his people with determination and to apprehend them so that they would help to catch the Christians. He said that he was going to bring them, and he went away with the two who had gone before, and did not return, although they waited for a long time. When he saw that they were not coming back, they returned and gave me the news. We started to this same place of San Jose. Here I consulted with the captains and decided not to attack the rancheria of Malin which was in the tular, and very restless we returned without incident.

November 9.--This morning I ordered Captain Castillo to conduct to the Presidio 54 Indians, including gentiles and Christians, and then having started out I took the road to the south, setting out through the tule, and having traveled on the edge of this tule for about 8 leagues, I turned toward the San Joaquin River in an easterly direction. I reached this river at about 6 in the afternoon, and they told me that on the other side armed gentiles were passing. I immediately sent Juarez with people across to reconnoiter, and the gentiles seeing the soldiers, crossed the river, went back to their rancheria which was near, and began to shoot without finding out anything more. Seeing this I ordered the captain to fire upon them killing two, at the same time assisted by the rest of the troop. They withdrew somewhat to the wood and I ordered a circle made with the troops and horses, and ordered them to move again, and after a short consultation with the captains we

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agreed to withdraw until another day to a distance of two leagues to rest and to pass the night.

November 10.--At 3 o'clock in the morning of this day the soldier Mariano Soberanes informed me that he went for a walk and that near the camp he saw a fire in a wood. I ordered the soldier Archuleta to go out to reconnoiter and he returned telling me that the fire was about a gun-shot away, and that it was probably that of the gentiles of the day before who wanted to attack us in the early morning. I gave orders to the sentinels to keep a sharp lookout and at 5 o'clock in the morning I ordered two men to reconnoiter the place where the fire was, and as soon as they approached they were met by the gentiles who were already coming upon us at the camp, and they shot at them first. At this we heard the cry that they made. I hastened with the troop, sending them forward where they formed in flank. I called to the interpreter to ask them what they wanted and they answered, to fight, and though they were told that the wish of the chief that there was no danger for them, it had no effect and they began to fight. Seeing this, I ordered them to fire, and withdrawing in the same wood, I ordered the troop to follow, and when they were upon them they killed 3 and caught one alive. Among the dead there was one Christian from the Mission of San Juan who had led the horse thieves. Of those who escaped some were known to have been wounded because of the great quantity of blood that I saw by the river, and I was certain that they would die.

This action finished, I ordered Captain Juarez with 10 men to go to reconnoiter this rancheria named Copicha to see if there were any horses. He brought back one and also two gentiles who were of those who had taken part in the action, and both confessed that they had been following us up to that place for the purpose of killing us, and that the dead Christian was the one who planned this. In the night they shot some arrows but did not harm us. In this action there was no incident except that the soldier Juan Espinosa received an arrow between his jacket and skin, but it did not harm him. At eleven o'clock on that day we took the road to the south, inclined a little to the east, and at a distance of 8 leagues 11 beasts were found belonging to the rancheria of Tape which was in the same plain of the river within the wood, and these were caught, leaving the rancheria for the return, as it was already afternoon. After about 4 leagues we reached the junction of the San Joaquin and San Jose rivers where we spent the night. One horse being worn out and useless from the journey. Here we camped without incident.

November 11.---At 9 o'clock in the morning we took the direction of the preceding day by San Jose River, and after 4 leagues we crossed it. We traveled to the east to avoid some bad crossings and after a league took the same direction, and camped 9 leagues away on the same shore, having left on the road a horse worn out and useless and a filly from those we had captured from the gentiles. Here we camped without event.

November 12.--At five o'clock of the same morning we started in the same direction, and after 10 leagues we found a large burned area where there were some gentiles, and as soon as we saw them we tried to catch them, and as soon as they saw us they presented themselves without any malice. They informed us that the troop which accompanied Don Juan Ortega had been seen the day before on Kings River. I told them to take us there, which they did, finding on the way two rancherias of these same people called Gumilchis, who showed themselves to be kindly disposed. I made them understand that our great chief who governed us wanted them all to be happy, to let the troops pass safely, and not to hide Christians or horses in their rancherias, for this chief forbade it. We crossed the river where we found the trail of the cited troop, and after following it about a league we camped without event.

November 13.--. . . At 7 o'clock in the morning we took the road to the south and after 4 leagues made camp.

November 14.--This day we remained in the same place. November 15.--The troop arrived after watering the beasts at about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, with the horses very much worn out, and 3 leagues away they had left 7 tired beasts.

November 16.--They brought in the 7 exhausted beasts so that we had to put off our departure until the following day.

November 17.--At 3 o'clock in the afternoon we set out from this place and returning by the same road visited in

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passing the rancheria of Nototo, where we were received with much friendliness, and having told them the story which we did to the Gumilchis, at a distance of 2 leagues we crossed the river toward the west where we spent the night without event.

November 18.--Today we kept on in the same direction a little to the northwest. We wanted to visit in passing the rancherias that we had seen before, who having caught sight of the troop had gone away, and though we called to them through the interpreter they did not come. We took another road coming to sleep at a marshy place which there was near the edge of the tule, to which we gave the name of San Pablo. Here we passed the night without event.

November 19.--We set out from this place at 2 o'clock in the afternoon to attack a rancheria that the guides said was in the plain of San Joaquin River, and when it seemed to us that we were near, we waited for daylight to attack it, and recovered the two beasts which had previously been left exhausted on the same spot, without event.

November 20.--At about 3 o'clock in the morning we traveled to the cited river in search of the rancheria which the guide spoke of, and having reached it asked this guide where the rancheria was. He said it was far away, but that we would reach it at sunset. We asked him why he had deceived us and he answered because he was afraid, and asking him again, he said that the rancheria of Tapee was the one which was on that road. But as it was afternoon we determined to guard the horses that were left with 10 soldiers

We asked the guide where the ford was so that we could join with the rest of the troop and the horses, but we did not find it because the guide had deceived us, and we slept at the junction of the two rivers San Jose and San Joaquin, about a league away from each.

November 21.--At 9 o'clock in the morning we joined the troop and the horses, killing on the way two deer which served for the troop who had been without food. We passed the day determined to attack the rancheria at 4 o'clock in the morning, which we did not do, because the horses made a great stampede at about 10 o'clock in the night, so that with all the troop mounted it was not possible to catch them because they were divided into several lots, and several of the beasts were lost. With this event the Christian Indian from Santa Cruz deserted, who accompanied us to Kings River, for seeing him so faithful he had been unfettered so that he could endure the journey better.

November 22.--In the morning the beasts were counted and 65 were found lacking. The captains Francisco Juarez, Antonio Olibera, Juan Arroyo, and the trusted Jose Villav? were immediately ordered to take 10 men each (except Olibera who had 4) and to scatter in several directions. They found 38 beasts. Juarez found these toward the east, killing a horse that was exhausted. Arroyo who went to the south brought news that the trail was on the road to the entrance to La Soledad, and it being afternoon he returned.

Villav^o who went to the north brought news that about a league and a half away was a rancheria, and near it an animal belonging to those we had lost that night. That he had seen the tracks of the horses who stopped to drink water; that no sooner had he come out from the wood than he saw some old men who were going into the wood, and they did not bring away the beast for fear of being seen by these old men, from whom they were partly hidden. Olibera did not bring back any news. It was decided to attack the rancheria at daybreak if there should be any people remaining in it.

November 23.--Today we set out for the cited rancheria which according to information given us by the gentile prisoners was that of Tapee and situated on both sides of the river. They seized three old gentile men and a Christian man from Santa Cruz and 8 old women. Here we found 238 beasts killed not long ago, much dry meat, 16 live beasts including mares and tame horses, two pierced with arrows and others ill-treated. The most of these horses belonged to San Juan Mission. I asked these gentiles where were the people from that rancheria who first observed us down the river together with the other three who knew we were going in search of them. They answered that they had gone to the mountains and that a few of the people were in front of the rancheria in a forest. The troop went away on foot in search of them and found no one. The missionary was certain and after punishing the old ones, they set out. It was decided that Capt. Arroyo should immediately go on the trail that we had left the day before taking 10 men, each with

two beasts, and that on the following day he should return with the horses or without them. Here the troop was supplied by the gentiles with some dry fish (although poor) and some rice and with what they had we passed the two days here without event.

Nov. 24. Capt. Arroyo came back at 4 in the afternoon with the news that the horses had gone on to San Luis Gonzaga and we determined to go on our way without event.

Nov. 25. On this day we continued on our expedition and at 7 in the morning arrived at the rancheria of Cupicha. We found it uninhabited. (It is in the same plain of San Joaquin River near El Tecolote.) We got information from the gentiles that we carried with us and they told us they had moved to the mountains. We crossed the river to the west from where Captain Arroyo was sent in pursuit of the trail he had left the day before, being told the place where he was to meet us and taking with him 4 men and 2 vaqueros, who were going with supplies to San Luis Gonzaga as usual until they found the track that led them to Manuel Butron who was coming as far as this place bringing with him a sack of pinole which he had kept guarded there and two from the priest. At 7 in the morning Arroyo returned with the news that he had found the trail of Butron. Several of the soldiers were sick . . . Today they caught 6 elk and fed the troop with them. Tonight it rained and we stayed in the Arroyo of San Jose without event.

Nov. 26. Today the soldiers Gabriel Espinosa and Jose Avellanes were sick and the sick ones of the day before were better. They caught 3 elk which served them for food. At

about 9 o'clock at night a man who separated himself from the troop and went a short distance reported that Butron followed the trail of the horses as far as the hill. At about 8 o'clock at night, when Joaquin Juarez and Capt. Arroyo were sentinels in the camp a gentile gnawed the rope with which he was tied and got free. Capt. Juarez cried that the prisoner was getting away. The troop ran to the little tule that there was in front of us, but could not find him. The captain and soldier whose fault it was were put under guard with the horses until further orders. And there was no further event.

Nov. 27. It was decided to fall upon the rancheria of Malim leaving 15 soldiers, 2 captains and 10 vaqueros with the horses. We set out at one o'clock in the afternoon in the rain. We traveled also to the north and arriving at the San Joaquin River, entered the rancheria of Cheneche which was uninhabited. We went down the river and after about 3 leagues we came upon tracks of people on foot at the edge of a forest. A captain with 4 soldiers went to examine this place and in the middle they found an old blind man and an old woman. They came to report this and were sent back to see if we could get information from them, but they could not find them. We spent the night here without incident but very uncomfortable because of the rain to which we had been exposed in the afternoon.

Nov. 28. In the morning of this day we started out in the same direction and after about half a league came to the rancheria of the Cheneches, which was found with two women, it being perceived that the rest of the people had seen us and

gone away. We followed their track in the same direction which led us through woods and tulares, but could not find anyone. After about 2 leagues we reached the junction of the Mariposas with this river. The guide that we took with us who was from this rancheria had previously told us that he knew the rancheria of Malim and when he was there said he did not know where it was, and if he did know that those were their lands, we could ourselves look for the rancheria. It was ordered to give him 10 lashes and while this was happening, the soldiers saw some gentiles who were going up river from Las Mariposas, and the troop separating in several directions we succeeded in capturing 2 Christians from Santa Cruz and 3 gentiles who took us to the rancheria, first finding a hut of these same people, but without being able to seize any. The rancheria was about 3 leagues to the west, but after we had gone about a quarter of a league we were told that it was behind us, and as we found that we had passed within a gunshot of the trail to it, we knew that they had purposely deceived us, giving the inhabitants an opportunity to escape. Here we found two horses and the tracks of a few. (According to the tracks which were observed this rancheria did not have so many horses for it was known that where the gentiles had done such terrible damage was from Tapee up to and including the Cheneches, for over 500 dead beasts had been found in these places). From here we returned to the Arroyo of Santa Rita, where Capt. Juarez with 6 soldiers was sent to join the other troop taking the horses on the following day to San Luis Gonzaga.

Here except for the rain without event.

Nov. 29. We set out for San Luis Gonzaga in the rain at about 2 in the afternoon and Captain Juarez at about 5, leaving 14 exhausted beasts of those recovered in the tulares which they killed.

Nov. 30. We set out from this place at about 6 in the morning and arrived at Los Ausaymas at about 5 in the afternoon, leaving in this neighborhood 78 beasts, most of which had been removed from the tulares and were killed, and the others arrived at the place with some difficulty at 8 o'clock at night without further event.

Dec. 1. We remained in this place without incident to rest our horses.

Dec. 2. We arrived at the Mission of San Juan with 10 sick soldiers, without further event.

Dec. 3. By daybreak they felt better and we continued our march to the Presidio, sending 9 prisoners to their destination under the guard of soldiers.

Governor Don Pablo Vicente de Sola:

I herewith transmit to your Excellency the diary which I kept from Nov. 4 when I arrived at San Miguel to the 15th of the next month when I joined Sergeant Pico, from which time I refer to the diary kept by this Sergeant, in order not to leave out or to repeat anything.

According to the instruction which it has pleased you to send me, I may say that the last rancheria visited was to be that of the Notontos but I saw that it would have to be one of the first because they had received information from the gentile Indians of Tache--the two runaway Indians, Antonio and another Christian from Soledad having passed this way as cited in the diary under date of November 9.. In the other rancherias I found no trouble except that in Tache and Sumtache I was insulted by the Christians from the fear which the soldiers had inspired that they were going to kill them.

In the rancheria of Tache 3 beasts were found, one from San Miguel and one from Soledad. . .

At the junction of the San Joaquin and San Jose rivers where I went on the 21st, at night there was a stampede of horses which it was not possible to prevent with all the troop because of the darkness of the night. But after they had controlled most of them, the next day at daybreak, they were counted and 65 found missing. I at once sent three parties

in different directions. And the Capt. Francisco Juarez brought back 28 which he found at a distance of 6 leagues to the south. There were 27 lacking which the other two parties did not find throughout the day. The following day I sent Capt. Antonio Olivira of my company, in other directions and Jose Villavicencio in charge with directions to both parties to follow the tracks with all perseverance until they found the beasts. And at night they returned saying that they could not find the trail. Seeing this I determined to set out from this junction to attack the rancheria of Tapa, and did so, finding in it a large number of horses killed not long since and according to my count there were 136 head, and many old tracks, so that all together there were probably a little more than 200. The people^{found} were an old man and old woman who could no longer see because of their great age. Here I ordered the troop with guns and shields to enter on foot a little wood that sheltered the same rancheria and they found two gentiles, one blind and the other, a Christian from Santa Cruz, half sick (it was he who was leading them) and 8 women also incurable who could not stand. These gave us information that on the other side of the river in another grove about a gunshot away there were people. I ordered the troop to do as before and they found no one, only fresh and old tracks of horses. In the rancheria first searched were found 15 mares, most of

them tied, also the horse of the Militiaman Juestin Ortega. Everything finished I crossed to the other side of the river where I passed the night.

At the same time that the search providentially ended, Capt. Juan Arroyo set out with 10 soldiers for the lost horses and after 2 days returned telling me that he had found no tracks--other than a trail which went in the direction of San Luis Gonzaga and that he acknowledged that they could be of the lost animals because there were traces of cord on two of them, and on the night of the stampede several of the runaway horses were tied round the neck with this kind of cord and the track of a mule that was also in the stampede. This news consoled me greatly.

After two days I set out from this rancheria of Tape for that of Cupcha, which was one that Serg. Pico attacked, before he joined me. I crossed the river called Santa Rita to sleep and before reaching it sent the same Capt. Arroyo mentioned above to follow the same track and when he came up with it to follow it until his horses became tired and take the same 4 soldiers and 2 vaqueros. They went to the foot of the hill of San Luis Gonzaga where the trail led them and from there they went to San Luis Gonzaga from which place they brought us food which had been left there previously and on their return they reported that they lost the trail of the other horses. .

I reached the aforementioned Santa Rita River at night where I slept and where Capt. Arroyo with the 10 soldiers found me. And at night while the soldier Joaquin Juarez was sentinel, one of the Indian prisoners cut the cord that bound him with his teeth and got free, several soldiers and the Capt. Francisco Juarez being present at the time. The Indians went after him as he fled, but could not get him as he hid in the tule.

At the junction of San Joaquin and San Jose Rivers I was crossing at the same time that the Indian fled, who was called Damien, a Christian whom Sergeant Dolores Pico was bringing unbound from Laguna de San Pablo to Kings River.

In the rancheria of the Christian Indian called Ccleto they obtained 5 fugitives, (2 Christians from Santa Cruz and 3 gentiles) and 3 others, making 8 all together that were caught, the Christian and the gentiles those whom another sergeant was conducting to Monterey.

In all they seized 53 horses, of which 10 belonged to Quintia Ortega, 1 to Manuel Pinto, 2 to the pueblo, 9 to Soledad, and all the rest to the mission of San Juan Bautista. Of the hundred cited, they delivered no more than 17, which Sergeant Rio told me Captain Castillo delivered. All the others were left on the road dead from exhaustion. . . .

[Signed] Juan de Ortega

Mission of San Juan Bautista

December 3, 1815

MARTINEZ: EXPEDITION FROM SAN LUIS OBISPO TO TULARES, 1816

Translation of Father Luis Antonio Martinez's Report of his Expedition to the Rancherias of the Tular, 1816. From a copy or abstract of Martinez's letter to Father Francisco Sarria in the Bancroft Library.

"May 29, 1816. San Luis Obispo. Fr. Luis Antonio Martinez to R. P. Com^o Prefecto Fr. V. Francisco de Sarria.

Reporting that the people that he met on his journey were unreasonable, and that they preferred their unhappy condition to any benefits that could be offered them outside their homes. [42]

That the rancheria of Lucluc was 28 leagues from his mission [San Luis Obispo] on the border of the plain from there to Tuohuala. That from there he went to Tuohuala, about 9 leagues; from there 18 leagues to Gelecto; from there 19 leagues to Lihuautilame; from there about 7 leagues to Quihuame. They [43] could go no further because here they found a large river running from N to S and from S to N, making a turn at the rancho, about 7 leagues from Télame. They could not cross it because it was so swift and rough. This is the river that feeds the lakes of Buenavista, Galecto, and Tuohuala. They found neither trees, nor stones, nor pasture. The river ends in Buenavista, and from there becomes lakes and swamps. On the edge of the plain there is a large poplar grove, very rough ground on sandy soil stretching for about a league in breadth.

Priestley: "This would place the village on the N side of the lake, whereas Zalvidea, 1806, indicated it on the south or southeastern side."

In Lucluc they found 50 Indians with their families. There [43]
after many entreaties they gave him a boy in exchange for whom
he gave his parents 2 blankets and some beads and meat.

They met the Indian Gabriel with 6 gentiles on the road and
accompanied him to a deserted rancheria where there was only an
old woman and a cripple who could not be carried to the tular.
He remained there 3 days, sending the Indians that he brought
with him to the tular so that the other Indians would return.
They brought him 10 families, whom he told not to be afraid;
that he was going to make them know the true God. As soon as
he gathered 70 armed men, they fled in the night to the Tular
and those that remained told him that it was the fault of a [44]
certain Chape and an old man, and that they had abandoned the
rancheria because they told them that we wanted to make an end
of them.

From there they all went to the rancheria of Gelecto, which
they found had all, except the cemetery, been destroyed by wars.

From there they went on to Telamni. When they reached
Lihauhilami the great, they found that they had had a great
skirmish the day before, resulting in the death of 8 men, among
them the elder son of Quipaguces. For this reason they were
frightened, fearing vengeance. Their chief sent to ask if he
was going to do anything to them; and he answered that they
were not to be afraid; that he would prevent any danger coming
to them. The chief told him to establish his camp near his
rancheria, which consisted of about 300 families. He said that
he went and was well received. When I went on, 3 of them con-
descended to be pleased to go with me.

When they arrived at the rancheria of Quihuama, the chief had [45]
posted people in the grove, and as soon as he dismounted they all
fled from the grove without our being able to speak to anyone.

Being about 6 leagues from Télame, he determined to return to
the rancheria of Thuohuala, or Hubal in the migueleña language.
This rancheria was deserted. They had gone to the one they call
Pusas. I sent Indians to call them, but they received them with
darts, and our Indians returned the fire and made 3 prisoners,
two women and one man. They cried "kill the coast people" and
as a result that rancheria was burned. One of their Indians
started off slightly wounded. Two horses were shot, and one,
a saddle horse was stolen. This rancheria ought to be punished.

He noted on his expedition very poor water and neither stone
nor wood, excepting on the plain of the river, which was covered
with poplars and willows, but the land, like the other, was
very sandy. "

Martinez, Fr. Luis Antonio. Entrada en las Rancherias del
Tular, 1816. MS copy or Abstract in Archivo del Arzobispado.
Cartos de los Misioneros de California, Tom III, pp. 42-5,
1772-1817. Extracts made for Bancroft Library, 1876.

Note: The MS from which this translation was made was written
partly in the first, and partly in the third, as translated.

The original of this report is said to be in San Francisco
in the records of the Archbishop.

Dr. H. I. Priestley in an account of Expeditions sent out from
California Missions (galley proof, unpublished) gives an abstract
of this report and his notes on identification of locations are
here given in footnotes.

An abstract of Martinez's report is given in Bancroft, Hist. of
Calif., II, p. 337 footnote, 1885.

ESTUDILLO: EXPEDITION TO TULARE LAKE AND FOOTHILLS 1819

Diary of the expedition made to the Tulares by Lieut. Don Jose Ma Estudillo, commander of the Royal Presidio of Monterey, acting on the superior order of the Governor of Nueva California, Colonel Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, to visit and examine the gentile rancherias and to capture the Christians and wild Indians and to punish them when necessary, which he started out on today, October 17, 1819 with a sergeant, three captains, and 26 soldiers in his company.

Sunday, Oct. 17, 1819.-- After having heard mass and sermon, celebrated by the Rev. Father Prefect Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarria, set out from the Presidio at 10:45 A. M. and at half past one in the afternoon arrived at the rancho of Real Hacienda, and having taken 183 horses, set out to sleep at Punta de Zanjones, which we reached at prayers. 8 leagues distant from Monterey.

Monday, Oct. 18.--At 5 o'clock in the morning set out from this place and reached La Soledad [Mission] at 11, and at 2 in the afternoon together with the Indian Antonio and Victor, Tularenos, set out for Los Ositos, which we reached at 6 in the afternoon. 13 leagues distant from where we set out.

Tuesday, Oct. 19.--At 5:30 in the morning set out from Los Ositos, and slept at the spring at the Canon of San Miguel. Distance 10-1/2 leagues.

Estudillo, 1819 -2

Wednesday, Oct. 20.--Set out from La Poza at daybreak and reached San Miguel at 10 in the morning, 7 leagues from La Poza. . .

Thursday, Oct. 21.--After mass set out toward the E to sleep at the place called Agua Dulce, 7-1/2 leagues away.

Friday, Oct. 22.--At five in the morning set out toward the E(oriente); at 8 took to the E (este) and at 4 P. M. reached the place called Los Ultimos Alisos, 15 leagues from the starting place over low hills, of saltpetre and Bofas with springs of very healthful water.

Saturday, Oct. 23.--Having had news of finding 2 water-ways (Zanjones) that there are on the way to the rancheria of Bubal, full of water and an obstacle to the journey, I sent the sergeant with 2 soldiers and Indians on foot to examine them and to find a crossing, and if there was none, to construct a raft, with orders for one of them to return with information concerning their observations, so that the troop might set out. At four in the afternoon, I received word from the sergeant that they had not found a crossing and were making rafts. Breaking camp, we went down to the plain of the Tulares, a beautiful view, from N to S lagoons extending farther than the eye can see, and stretching from E to W, I judged, about 28 or 30 leagues. At 10 o'clock at night we reached the first zanjon and crossed it, the horses swimming with some difficulty.

Estudillo, 1819 -3

Kept on to the NE, traveling until one on the morning of the 24th, and overtook one of the Indian explorers, who told me that he had found no raft in the Zanjon of Bubal, and that the gentiles had left the rancheria. I reached this Zanjon at 3 A. M. Rafts were constructed on which the troops and supplies were ferried across. I examined the site where the gentiles had their huts, which was 12 leagues from Los Alamos, and it showed that some days since, they had moved to another place. I camped here to rest the troops and feed the beasts, a little distance from the shore of the Zanjon and tular with its nitrous soil. Knowing that the gentile Indian, called Gabriel by the soldiers and belonging to this rancheria, had always been much attached to the troop and with his companions had gone with the troop to every place, and confronted with the news of his absence, I judged that they had some news, as much from this as from the fact that they had not stopped nor visited the fathers of San Miguel Mission for two years, though they had always been received with the affection befitting an apostolic minister.

At eleven o'clock I saw two gentile Indians at some distance. I sent to overtake them and have them brought to the camp. On being thoroughly examined, after much work, they told me that some Indians who had gone to San Miguel Mission at the end of September for the fiesta, had returned saying

and insisting that at this time troops were to come and capture all the fugitive Christians and to carry off captive all the gentiles because they sheltered them. When they were told this, they were frightened and some had gone to the interior of the Lagoon, others scattered as soon as they heard the news. That on Thursday, the 21st, they received word from the rancheria of Tache through Christians who came from Soledad, that on the 18th I had set out from that mission, for the purpose of hunting them, capturing the wild Indians and punishing the gentiles. That the chief had set out for the aforementioned with some Christians who wanted to go away, and they did not know whether the gentiles of Tache were waiting us or had moved their rancheria. That the Indian Gabriel had gone to the fiesta of Buнавista with other Indians. That as soon as they received from Soledad the news of our crossing they had maintained a watch, and we had been observed from the afternoon of the 23rd, and our method of crossing the zanjón noted, as well as the road that we took at first; and that the Indians who remained were together at a creek about 5 miles away. From which information I decided to send out to capture them, having learned from these gentiles that they could go on foot, since there was little water.

Monday, Oct. 25.--I sent them out, watchfully, at two in the morning for the part of the rancheria of Bubal about 5 leagues away according to the 2 gentiles. At 11 they returned

with 45 persons of both sexes, including the Christian Liberata, who with permission had come more than a year ago to get well and who they told me, had kept himself concealed because he was afraid. That the other Indians were scattered on the Lake. That the Indian Gabriel, although he was in Buenavista, was much afraid because of the incident that happened two years ago with the Luiseno Indians. As I have said before this Indian, although gentile, is named and known as Gabriel. He is not a chief but is greatly feared by all the people of the valley and renowned because of the circumstance of his goodwill for the troop. In virtue of which I sent to inform him of my arrival and tell him not to be afraid. That I would expect him on the 30th in the neighborhood of Tontache together with all the Christian fugitives, and that I would give them a pardon on paper so that they might return to San Miguel Mission.

At 3 in the afternoon the old Indian chief of Bubal named Chape with his wife arrived at the camp with a present of fish for me and told me that while they were fishing on the lake Anastasio, a Christian from San Miguel appeared and told him of the arrival of the troop at the rancharia, and that the people were taken away, and that he immediately came away, and that the old women that were left there because they could

not follow us, told him that I was awaiting him here, and had given them very good treatment, the news being false that had been told them. I exhorted them all, particularly the old men and children to become Christians, treating them with the greatest kindness. and warning them not to detain nor follow any of them that came without permission, and to dismiss them all, giving them liberty to withdraw to their missions, but they all begged to remain that night to fish and kill ducks for all the people, to which I yielded, and they did so, killing an abundance of large Majarron and ducks enough for all.

Tuesday, Oct. 26.--After having remained with the gentiles so that they might all unite and come to live on their lands without fear of the troop, we set out from this place at 6 A. M. for the great plain, taking the road to the S to get acquainted with it, and at a distance of 6 leagues on this road passed the Canada of the Arroyo of San Cayetano (called by the natives Agspa). Set out from this canada of Agspa, arriving at the entrance where are the foot hills of the Sierra Nevada at 6:30 P. M. with the horses and mules lame and weary, because they had not eaten for three days, counting today and going through lands nitrous and hard to cross, and without water today (6 leagues for which reason three horses and a wornout mule were left on the road). Having found good pasture and water I decided to rest until morning.

Estudillo, 1819 -7

Wednesday, Oct. 27.--The horses and the wornout mule were captured yesterday. Before and after sunrise, I examined with the naked eye and with glasses the mountains and the canyon called Agspa by the natives (and San Cayetano by Lieut. Gabriel Moraga), whose rancheria is located in the interior of it, and whose Gentiles were at the fiesta of Buenavista. It is a beautiful sight, all of it together with the mountain being covered with beautiful oaks and live oaks, poplars and willows. Its water runs for a short distance in time of drought, but is very good. Those who passed down the canyon in 1806 say that it was not so broad nor so well-covered with trees. According to the signs, the rancheria is composed of 400 including both sexes and all ages.

Thursday, Oct. 28.--At 6 A. M. set out to the N and at 9 reached the Arroyo de Coyaipich, a distance of 4 leagues, leaving to the W the hill or mountain, which the Lieut. Don Gabriel Moraga named San Pedro on the expedition which he made in 1806. Seeing two Indians at a great distance, I overtook them and they told me that they were afraid, and I reassured them and they took me to the rancheria of the same name, its chief named Tuka and numbering about 200 people. I went on for the river of San Gabriel with two guides from this rancheria, through country level and bofa until entering a large oak

forest in which I found the rancheria named Choynoco (Choynocko on the bank of an arroyo that has water in a few springs) 8 leagues distant, whose chief and the greater part of the people were at a fiesta at a rancheria in the neighboring mountain named Chischa about 8 leagues away. I turned in that direction and arrived at sunset at the neighboring Arroyo which I called El Llanto del Capitan del Chischa [=The weeping of the Chief of Chischa], because I found the chief in it weeping for the death of his two brothers and six sisters, for which reason he was celebrating the funeral feast and had left the rancheria of the oaks.

This chief named Joasps told me that he with his wife and family and brother had withdrawn this day to this site to weep for the death of their relatives. They alone, because on the following day they had to have all the invited ones at their rancheria, and he entreated me so that I resolved to pass the night in this place, for in the morning they would be in the aforementioned rancheria and he and his people would open the road to give water to the horses; and when I yielded to his urging he manifested much content, giving to all fresh fish and pinole and atole, and offered to leave with his family in the morning with my troop. His conduct throughout was majestic and affable. He declared that he had never seen

soldiers in his country and had only heard years ago of their crossing below (This was Moraga in 1806) to the S and that there were as many from the troop as from the Mission; that he had wanted and resolved to see the Presidios, but that he had refrained from going because there were enemies in the vicinity, who would kill or illtreat him. I did my best to remove this fear, and he promised me to come to Monterey, and I gave him a paper, which he appreciated greatly, so that he would be received by the guard.

The three places that I visited today with him, on my arrival hid their women and children, and as soon as they asked and found out that no Friar accompanied me, they brought them out and presented them to me.

Having heard that there was a San Miguel Christian with two horses at the feast, I spoke of it to Chief Joasps, and he immediately sent for him, and he arrived at nine o'clock at night accompanied by a gaily decorated Indian youth, 22 or 24 years old, chief of Choinoco, and two other Indians, who begged me to pardon him, as he was a relative of theirs, and invited me in the name of the other chiefs who had assembled there; and said that those of the Telame and he offered, if I arrived with wornout horses to take care of them until my return, if I would leave them there, for he had on his lands water and

pasture in abundance. I answered him that in the morning I was going to visit them all, and having good horses thanked them for the offer, at which he departed, and I passed the night with suitable precautions.

Friday, Oct. 29.--At 6 A. M. with due order I set out accompanied by the chief Tejoasps for his rancheria toward the northern foothills of the mountain, which I reached at 8 o'clock. Seven chiefs from several rancherias of the oak grove came out to receive me, 2 of them chiefs of Telame, one from Choinoco, and the other 4 from the neighborhood of the same mountain, all arranged in good order with their people in front of the wall that formed the rancheria of Chischa, whose chief Joasps, as I have said before, was having a funeral feast, which was done up in the following manner. They painted their faces black like great blackened balls, and passed the entire night giving mournful cries like hoarse weeping. The next day, they washed and painted, and formed their dance by rancherias. At the end the giver of the feast, after having given them a great deal to eat--fish that they catch in the river, elk, deer, and antelope meat, of which there is an abundance, atole and pinole--paid all of them with beads and baskets, and they went away for their own country. As soon as I arrived, all the chiefs by means of interpreters, invited

me urgently, at which having previously taken suitable precautions without their knowing it, I sent away my horse, and accompanied by the interpreters went within the rancheria with them. With due reserve, in the wall that forms the rancheria of Chischa I counted in file 437 Indian youths all armed and about 600 women and children all placed in front of it, whose length which I measured as I walked was 358 paces which would make 626 varas [1721.5 feet] and in the rear 432 paces or 756 varas [2079 feet], all of rushes (patata) and branches of willow. Then I went opposite where the invited guests were lodged, and as they all, men and women and boys and girls were presented to me in a confused mass, I could not count them, as I did those of Chischa, but there were perhaps 600 men. All the women of the huts of Chischa were busy grinding pinole from several seeds, cooking rice ^{yes} (?)--arroz--and making bread of it, and with large baskets of very thick acorn atole.

After I finished my visit to all the chiefs, I gave them to understand that the reason for my visit to their country was the order of the Great Chief (for so I named the Senor Governor) and they assured me that they had no more Christians, that the one they gave up to me from Choynoco, did not come through their lands, for they were far from the Missions. And Joasps of Chischa again told me that no troop had ever been

there, nor had they knowledge of any until now, and I gave him to understand that I was much pleased.

Chief Joasps and his people as well as the other guests began to present me with baskets of all sizes, pinole and atole to eat, but not having anything with which to reciprocate, with great affability I excused myself from receiving anything, telling them all that I had to go a long way and could not carry anything, but if they wanted to come to see me some day at the Presidio and bring it, they would all be very well received, with which they were satisfied. But they begged me to permit the troop to stroll among them and to eat, and I sent them in parties under the sergeant and captain, giving them strict orders not to touch anything except to taste the food which was offered them, and the Indians were well pleased.

At eleven that day the chief of Notonto arrived and was presented to me by the assembled gentiles, and after having been told that I would soon be at his rancheria, he withdrew with them.

At one o'clock there came to the feast from the interior of the Sierra Nevada and from the rancheria that they call Apalame, four chiefs named Chomulk, Gilmosts, Ogmort and Gulstos with 111 Indian men and women, who had never seen troops. These Indians presented themselves at the top of the hill and sent word of their arrival to Joasps, asking who we were and

seeking permission to enter in a skirmish killing dogs and hens. He told them who we were, and they staged their arrival in a sort of masquerade, killing with their arrows some dogs and hens, for which they paid with beads, and prepared to eat them, well content. All the people and particularly the chief urged me strongly to spend the night and the following day with them at the feast, but I left them satisfied, telling them that I had far to go and but little time, and that I intended to leave in the afternoon and to sleep at Telame. In the conversation that I had with Joasps, the chief of Chischa, he told me that he and his people went up by several places to the top of the mountain to gather pinons, and that in some places there were areas of good land, and that they could be easily reached by horse, but that they were very large. From the people from the interior I had it also more particularly and from the people that there are on the other side, who told me that they made their gatherings of pinons and seeds on both sides, but that they did not go in much, because the other inhabitants are bad people, and that there are three mountains, although not so large as this, with very large trees of acorns, which must be oaks (robles); that they have not seen people like us.

At 3 P. M. I started to set out for Telame with guides

from Chischa and from said rancheria and having made only a short turn in the meanwhile to the banks of San Gabriel River joining the same sierra. There were in it more than a hundred women young and old, with children, all of them distilling their atole in large baskets, and others cooking and grinding them, and at most there began to come out from the willows about 200 people of all ages and kinds who approached me and saluted me without any fear, those who entered in their huts of Chischa, and the troop being mounted, we set out and arrived at Telame at 5:30 P. M. which was located about 5 leagues W and where I found 14 old women and 9 old men who were not at the feast. At dusk several other Indians arrived and they went out and in all there were 47. One of the old women came to the camp and presented me with a small chicken for supper, and I reciprocated with corn pinole.

Saturday, Oct. 30.--At 5 A. M. I set out for Tontache with guides which the Indians contributed. Starting for the great oak grove we followed several directions to the E, the W, the N, and the S because of the numerous arroyos, tulares and zanjons that there are until at 2 in the afternoon when we turned to the W on which road we crossed San Gabriel River and arrived at the place called La Cruz, which is on its bank, at 4, having traveled 13 leagues during the day. At 5, 4 In-

dians arrived from the rancheria of Tontache bringing me presents of fish and ducks, and inviting me in the morning to come to their rancheria, for although the chief was at Buнавista with half of the people, those who remained in it wanted to receive and become acquainted with the troop, for those from La Soledad had told them of our coming. I accepted the fish and ducks, and reciprocated with dry meat and pinole, and told them I was glad that they knew that I was coming to see them, and that in the morning I would go to their rancheria, and that they must have the Christians in it ready for me to pardon and to send to their Mission, and that we would talk afterwards, and I dismissed them, but 2 of them willingly remained to act as guides.

Sunday, Oct. 31.--After having said the rosary, I set out at 7 in the morning for the rancheria of Tontache, which I reached at a distance of 3-1/2 leagues to the W located on the edge of the Laguna de Bubal on miry land so that the horses could not cross and very nitrous, for which reason I proceeded with only one soldier among the Indians. I counted 108 Indians, brave and robust youths, and about 200 people including women, old men, boys, and girls. They brought me 5 Christians from San Miguel, and I sent them with a vaquero to their mission. The gentiles begged me to pardon them, for they were all their sons or brothers. They ratified the fact

that the news of my coming was communicated by the people of Tache, who had heard it from those of La Soledad, and that it had spread throughout the valley and I would find no one in their rancherias especially in those of the N who were horse-killers, for they had all scattered to the mountains and tulares. They themselves had remained on their ground because they knew they had done no wrong, all except some timid ones who had withdrawn to the interior of the Lake and did not want to come out, and others who were at the festivities at Buenavista. While thus occupied I learned of the arrival of an Indian from Buenavista who said that Lieut. Gabriel Moraga had reached there 4 days ago, and that he could do nothing because the Indians had gone to the Lake, and that the visitors had scattered with fear, and he had come with the news. At 12 o'clock I returned to the place from which I set out, which I reached at 2 o'clock.

Monday, Nov. 1.--At 5 A. M. I began my march to the N for the rancheria of Tache about 12 leagues away, which site or place where it was previously. I reached at 4 P. M. through nitrous lands, miry and with very large tulares, and having with much difficulty crossed 4 zanjones, full of water, and so miry that in one of them, the horse belonging to the soldier Ignacio Soto could not get out, and he and his arms got all wet.

Coming in sight of Rio del Reyes, 5 Indians were sighted a league away, who were going in the direction of the Tular, and although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio, to overtake them so that I might talk to them, he could not follow. Realizing this and seeing that we could not cross the marshes, I sent another of his companions, to follow him. He brought me the news that all the Indians had scattered because they were afraid of us, for Agustin and Pascual, neophytes of Soledad Mission, sent word to them, as soon as they saw me leave, that I was coming to capture the Christians and to kill them all, for which reason 2 chiefs with 9 Christians immediately took the road to the Mission, and the others had gone in various directions. I then sent a native Indian of this country, called Victor, to make them understand the contrary, and tell them not to believe the fugitive Christians, and that the Gentiles were to come to me. He returned at 9 o'clock at night with two of them, who told me the same as Antonio, and that perhaps the chiefs that were on the way to Soledad would arrive that night. I made them understand the contrary, and that I was astonished that this rancheria having been so friendly with the troop which had come to help them several times and to fight against their enemies until they made them their friends, that they should have believed the word of the Christians until they had suf-

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ficient proof, and much less that of the wild Indians that spoke with no more authority; and that they had not come forth to receive me, as they had always done with the troop. To which they answered that their only reason was the information from Agustin and Pascual, and they believed them because it was true that those Christians were with them, and so the afore-mentioned Chiefs went to deliver up those that they could carry, and to ask why we wanted to do them so much harm, since they had never taken or killed horses of the troop before, although they had taken care of them many times. I made them understand that the word sent them by Agustin and Pascual was wrong, but that it was true that I was going to capture and send back all the Christian Indians to the Missions, and that if they wanted to keep our friendship as they had up to the present, they must not shelter anyone, and as soon as they presented themselves from any Mission, condemn their flight, and if they were relatives, do the same; and that they were to get word to their companions that I wanted to see them and get acquainted with them. They remained and in the morning they went together and got fish as they had always done.

At 10 at night an Indian came in splendor to camp sent from the rancheria of Notonto to know if I had reached this place, for the Chief Taijya had returned from the funeral feast of

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Chischa, and told them that I was not coming to do them the harm prophecied by the angry ones from Soledad, and they wanted to get acquainted with me and were waiting for me in their rancheria whose people, this chief sent word, were getting fish for mine. That, as they had not killed any horses, nor sheltered any fugitive Christians they were not at all afraid, and that they had set out to the good land to receive us. That if they had before fought the troop it had been because of lies that had been told them. I assured them that they had done well, that they must never flee from the troop nor fear them, and having to speak with the people of Tache, I could not go there immediately, but would be there on the third day in the morning. So pleasing was the deportment of this Indian youth who came to speak with me, that I presented him with a red handkerchief, not having anything else, and a little corn pinole, with which he went away immediately, seemingly much pleased.

Tuesday, Nov. 2.--The horses being much wornout and the troop dirty, I rested here this day to attract the scattered gentiles while the former rested and the soldiers washed.

At 9 A. M. the 4 chiefs of Tache, named Mariano Ticsar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilara presented themselves to me--all from this same rancheria, accompanied by 37 Indian youths pre-

pared with nets to catch fish in Rio del Reyes, which they did in my presence, swimming with great agility, then diving and when below water some 5 credos, and at the least 3, as I myself saw. After they had caught enough fish I turned to show them to all, being aware that they were all scattered and living in the Lake and they would come out to their old territory without fear. Not seeing them all together I told them, that I would go alone to the part of the rancheria which they said was near, to which they answered that I could go on horseback up to a certain place, and then they would take me on a raft. I agreed to this with pleasure, and they immediately sent word to prepare a raft and entertainment. As soon as the troop learned my resolution they were opposed to it, saying that it was exposing me to their transgression, as had happened before when entering other rancherias alone, and especially in this case, because it was in water and tule, which could not be entered in case of necessity, which I held was groundless as I knew they were not malicious and had said so to the gentiles, and in the afternoon I would go accompanied by only the sergeant. I had previously examined the munitions which got wet when the soldier Ignacio Soto crossed the Zanjon and ordered him to expose the powder to the sun and seeing some cartridges compressed with it, I took some powder to test its activity,

and it burned my right hand. I could not now gratify my desire to see the condition of this part of the rancheria of Tache, and I told the gentiles so and they seemed very sorry, and I sent them away accompanied by some friendly Indians who were to bring me some information. They returned later saying that they found these gentiles living in the water and tule on a large raft, without light or hot food, and having made the old men and women understand what I had said, they sent word the same night to inform the scattered ones to assemble. The troop seeing my intention was frustrated told me that they had already resolved not to let me go alone. The chiefs Mariano Ticsar and Cullas told me that they had delivered at Soledad all the Christians that could be caught the preceding night and that they were not sheltering any fugitive Christians at all.

At 11 P. M. the friendly Indians returned accompanied by the chiefs Cullas and Chilara, who were to guide us to the rancheria of Notonto where I was going.

Wednesday, Nov. 3.--At 5 in the morning at the time of our departure, a messenger came to me from Tontache to tell me that Lieut. Gabriel Moraga had returned to Lake Buenavista and surprised the Indians in a canyon, taking 9 Christians prisoners. That all the Indians had fled and the Indian that

brought the news left Buenavista on the 30th and traveled day and night. That they had just received word from the North that the troop of San Francisco had fought and killed many Indians, and that these had killed a soldier and wounded several. I sent back the Gentile to tell his companions that it was false that one soldier had been killed and others wounded.

At 6 A. M. after receiving the message sent by the Indian from Tontache, I set out for the rancheria of Notonto, travelling N about $6\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, which I found located on the bank of Rio de Reyes on soil nitrous and with tule .. Two leagues before arriving 2 Indians from these same Notontos, came to meet me on the road, one of them with 3 cakes of bread and rice which he presented to the guides of Tache and the other Indians who accompanied me, and they told me that they were expecting me. In sight of the rancheria and 1700 varas [4675 feet] from it, an Indian called Manuel presented himself to me, saying through the interpreter Antonio, in the name of all the chiefs that they had gathered together and assembled as I had desired. I answered that the reunion was commendable and that I was going to be with them all. To which he responded that he was going to tell them and that they were watching for me. I sent him off in haste and at once turned to perfect precautions which I had taken in anticipation, and before the arrival of the Indians I presented myself as in battle by means of a pistol shot before the rancheria whose people were drawn up in double line and without arms (for as it is the

most bellicose that is known in these parts, I informed them by the first messenger that no Indian with arrow in hand should present himself before me, for this action alone would be enough to draw blood and for me to treat them as enemies). Accompanied by 4 soldiers and an interpreter I went into the midst of the Indians, and at this ordered all the chiefs to present themselves to me. They were the following; Taijya, the old chief, and Chata, his nephew, the new chief of the Notontos, Coytisa, chief of Gumilchi, Guchaita (and Hocha, chiefs of Guchetema, Guchalne, chief of Tateguy. The first I had to say was to give weight to the boldness of their sending me word as to what it was that I wanted.

[Unfinished translation. Priestley abstracts the rest of the diary as follows: "Leaving Notonto, the Spaniards went E 4 leagues, crossed the Kings and spent the night on its bank. Next day they moved NW 15 leagues from Notonto to the Pozas de San Pablo, and then to the San Joaquin, along the tular, reaching Tape, which had been moved. On the 6th and 7th the expedition moved 24 leagues down the San Joaquin, 12 more on the 9th, and turned W to the Arroyo de Santa Rita on the 10th, bound for the presidio. Next day eleven leagues were traveled to San Luis Gonzaga. The party reached San Juan Bautista on the 3rd and Monterey on the 16th."]

Estudillo, 1819 -24

Estudillo, José Mariá, Diaro de la espedicion hecha a los tulares por el teniente D. Jose Maria Estudillo comandante. del Real Presidio de Monterey, consecuente a superior orden del Senor Gobernador de la Nueva Calif. Coronel D. Pablo Vicente de Sola, para visitar y reconocer las rancherias de gentile y recoger los Cristianos zimarrones, y su castigo en caso necesario, le que emprendio hoy 17 de Octubre de 1819, con un sargento, tres cabos, y veinte y seis soldados de su compania, 1819, Original MS, B. L. Huntington Collection.

Translation by S. R. Clemence.

(galley proof, unpublished)
Dr. H. I. Priestley in an article in Expeditions sent out from California Missions includes an abstract of this diary, but does not attempt to identify any locations.

RODRIGUEZ: EXPEDITIONS TO THE TULARES, 1828

From April to June, 1828, Sergeant Sebastian Rodriguez made 2 expeditions to the Tulare region from the Missions of San Miguel and San Juan Bautista, during which he visited several rancherias. Rodriguez's original diaries of these expeditions are in the Huntington Collection in the Bancroft Library and are herewith translated. The following rancherias are mentioned: Bubal, Carriso, Chausila, Ctache, Jeuhe, Joyima, Tachi, Tulame and Yaulamen.

"Diary which I, Sergeant Sebastian Rodriguez, kept on the campaign ordered April 17, 1828.

April 20.--Set out at 4 in the afternoon and slept in Santa Ana.

April 21.--Set out from Santa Ana and slept in the arroyo called Quiensabe.

April 22.--Set out from Quiensabe and rested in the place called La Panochita, and from there set out at 6 in the afternoon for the San Joaquin River, and at one in the morning Capt. Simeon Castro found a drove of mares of those which the Indians had stolen, and in it were 3 wounded beasts. The drove was retaken, It belonged to the citizen Amelmo Romero. We could not reach the river because of the mire, which the Zanjon de Santa Rita, about half a league before arriving at the river, I believe about 3 in the morning.

April 23.--I looked for a place to cross the Zanjon and crossed with some work, a pack falling into the mud. Reached the river at 10 o'clock, found it swollen. Three rafts were constructed and all that day passed with no hindrance other than the upsetting of one raft loaded with my saddle and arms, which got all wet, as well as those of some soldiers, but nothing was lost because the Indians were prepared, being on the other side with the horses. Slept there.

April 24.--Set out at 5 in the afternoon for the place called El Monte Redondo (Round Mountain) and arrived at daybreak of the 25th without having lost the guides. On the same day set out for the place called El Potrero, arrived at 11 at night, and remained there until the soldier Norberto Garcia should return whom I had sent to investigate the rancheria of the Joyimas which is where they have eaten the horses. Said Garcia returned about 2 in the morning, and I immediately set out, leaving Capt. Jose Abila with 4 men and 4 Indian aids to take care of the horses and provisions. About an eighth of a league before crossing the river I sent Capt. Simeon Castro with 10 soldiers and 19 Indian aids to cross to the N of the river while I remained on the S side. Only 5 men on horseback could cross with Capt. Simeon because it was very miry, and we went on toward the rancheria which is between two arms of the river in a forest of much willow, very difficult travelling. The party that went on the S side all fell before reaching the rancheria in some little tules where the land is very miry. Capt. Simeon approached to within about 60 varas [165 feet] from the rancheria, and at the neigh of a horse about 200 Indians discovered him and immediately took up their arms and discharged their arrows. Seeing this Simeon fired and

killed 2 gentiles. The party from the S entered, some on foot and some on horseback, killed 3 gentiles and caught 8 men and 7 women and several boys and girls, in all 26, and seized 27 beasts from the government herds of which for three days they had been eating the meat, having shot 8. In the neighboring forest there were 60 to 80 more beasts. According to information immediately given by a gentile chief of the rancheria of Ctache, who came to the Joyimas to eat horse-meat, there was another rancheria farther up which had horses. I at once ordered Capt. Simeon Castro to go to this rancheria, the soldier Jose Bermudes and I remaining to take care of the prisoners, since we were both wet to the waist. Capt. Simeon found no people in the rancheria and only saw one departing on horseback up the mountain. Capt. Simeon withdrew to another rancheria which was about 2 leagues away, and found no people, but found much horse-meat and the tracks of the people who had buried themselves in the mountains. As soon as they rejoined us, I ordered all the meat that there was to be burned, not leaving a quarter of meat to eat, and when the wet men had dried out, I withdrew to camp which I reached about one in the afternoon. The meat of the other two rancherias was not burned, and there must have been about 100 dead beasts. These

three rancherias are the same as that of the Joimas. It was divided when the horses arrived in order to eat with less fear of detection. Among the Indians which were caught, there was one Christian from La Soledad and another from San Juan with a little boy who was also a Christian.

April 27.--I set out at one in the morning to follow those who fled into the mountains and went about 8 leagues into the mountains where they were accustomed to locate when they fled, and not having found anyone, the guide who was one of our prisoners told me that they must be farther back, and I went where the guide told me and two women were seen, who were immediately caught and told where the people were. The soldiers, whose horses were very tired, went and caught 5 men, 19 women and 13 children. The interpreter with 5 Christian aids lost me and arrived at the rancheria, where the dead were, and found 8 men and among them 2 chiefs. They immediately set out to stop him with their arms, and he caught one chief, a Christian of San Juan, and one gentile and 3 women. The troop stopped the people who fled from getting out of the mountain and caught them. Among them there was a Christian from San Juan Mission and two horse-thieves--gentiles called Selli and Salmi. As soon as they were all reunited, I withdrew to the camp and reached there at 7 at night.

April 28.--The people rested.

April 29.--I set out for the ranheria called Jeuche at 2 in the morning and found no people because they had fled the day before into the mountains about 7 leagues, as their trail showed. In some very rocky cliffs we found two Christian men and Christian women all three from the Mission of San Juan, one gentile and 5 women and 2 girls, making 11 in all. I withdrew to the camp where I arrived at 7 at night. All these ranherias had been warned by Christians from the Mission of San Juan who came to tell them that the soldiers were coming and arrived there a day before I did, and I found nothing more than in that of the Joimas. I immediately took to the mountains toward the north searching in all the places where they had eaten horses. This Christian was called Delfino as the gentiles said.

April 30.--I sent Capt. Simeon with 17 men of the troop and 16 Indian aids to the ranheria of Chausila to see if they could catch any Christians or gentiles, because they also are eaters of horses. I went with the prisoners to the place called La Posa de Blas to see if we could catch some elk with which to feed the prisoners, and the other people because we had just finished the food and with the prisoners and all there were about 142 people. Today in the afternoon they caught some antelope and killed a mare and with this

fed the prisoners.

May 1.--At 8 o'clock tonight I joined Capt. Simeon. He could not find any Indians in the mountain of Chausila. all had withdrawn far into the mountains and had left only a wornout horse.

May 2.--I set out for San Joaquin River and found it greatly swollen with much water in the tule, and very miry, so that some of the packs fell off in crossing.

May 3.--After reciting the rosary we began to cross on rafts finishing at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and went to sleep at the point of the Zanjon of Santa Rita. We started out to sleep at the place called Panochita. The fourth day we rested here so that the soldiers might catch elk for the people to eat, and on the fifth day we went to sleep at the place called the Corral of Joaquin Soto.

May 6.--Set out at 5 in the morning and arrived at the Mission of San Juan at 6 in the afternoon bringing 82 beasts which they took from the rancheria of Joyima and 85 Indians.

[Signed] Sebastian Rodriguez

Mission of San Juan Bautista,
May 6, 1828.

"Diary kept by Sergeant Sebastian Rodriguez from May 26 of this year [1828] in which I set out under orders from your Excellency on an expedition to the Tular by the road of San Miguel.

This same day set out from said Mission toward the Tular and slept in a place called Agua Dulce.

May 27.--Set out from this place and slept in La Panza.

May 28.--Set out from La Panza and at daybreak of the 29th reached the lake of Buena Vista, in the rancheria called Tulame. I found all the people in the tular because they had been warned by the overseers from San Miguel Mission. After we had been about an hour in the ruins of the rancheria the chief came on a raft and when he landed was asked about his people. He told me that they were all afraid because they had been told the soldiers were going to kill them. Two soldiers, Gabriel de la Torre and Juan Butron, asked me to give them permission to go into the tular and bring out the Indians. I gave them permission and they did so, some others entering with them and brought out a few people. As soon as they were without, I charged the chief with the horses that he had at his home because many tracks had been found. He told me that they had crossed to the east of the lake and after about 3 hours I saw two men on horseback who were running away. I immediately sent the chief of the rancheria Tachi who was going with me as an aid

from San Miguel, to catch the two who were going on horse-back. He immediately went after them and caught 2 and brought them to me. They were from the same rancheria where I was. The soldiers asked permission to cross to the other side of the lake to catch the horses that they had left, and I told them to go. Five immediately volunteered and with cartridges in belts and swords in hand, they crossed on horse-back. They caught the 2 horses which had been seen, and others. As soon as they came where I was I asked the chief where the 6 Christians were who were in his rancheria and he answered that they were all in the tule. Then I took him prisoner with all his people, although they were few, until they should deliver to me the Christians. And while they were prisoners a youth told me that in the mountains of Santa Barbara there was a rancheria which had horses and saddles and that there were few people and that he would go to show it to me. As soon as it was night 15 men set out leaving Capt. Brijido with 8 soldiers in charge of the horses and provisions. I arrived at the rancheria at daybreak of the 30th, and caught them all together. As soon as they began to flee from their huts, the chief presented me with a paper from the minister of La Purisima, stating he was authorized to gather the horses which

belonged to this Mission. When I arrived with 4 soldiers and 2 Indians, I ordered them to capture the horses, and they brought me 20 beasts,--5 mules, 3 mares, and 12 horses, from all owners. They had 8 saddles and 3 hides. I asked the chief about the hides and saddles--from where he had obtained them,-- and he told me that Patricio, the alcalde of this Mission, had given them for elk which they had caught and whose hides they had taken to the Mission. I asked him about the cattle hides and he told me that he had brought them from the Mission--something which I could not believe, because the herd ranges from the Mission of San Miguel to the Sierra of Santa Barbara and is very near this rancheria. I took away the horses, saddles . . . and at about 8 o'clock in the morning I withdrew. At the Rancho of San Emigdio I found a gentile Indian called Francisco and some old women who were taking care of his cornfield. He delivered 4 horses to me and told me that he had delivered 50 more to Sergeant Salazar who had turned them over to the Commander at Santa Barbara. He told me he would go to show me a rancheria where there were many horses. This rancheria was called Carriso. There they delivered some beasts to me, and informed me that the day before a Migueleno had passed with his companions who had given them news of the soldiers. I went on all this night and the

next day till about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, but could not catch him because he had withdrawn to the Sierra San Fernando. I returned to where my horses were and reached there about 1 o'clock in the morning. Capt. Brijido informed me that the chief of Buena Vista had delivered 4 Christians to him. The chief told him that on June 2 at daybreak he would bring me the 2 Christians who were missing, if when he brought them, he and all his people should be free, which was done the next day. At about 10 o'clock of the same day, the chief of the Yaulamene rancheria brought me 12 horses because he knew that the soldiers were going in search of horses. I asked him for the Christians that were in his house and he said that they were there. I told him to bring them out to me and he said that he could not, that I must give him soldiers to cross to the other side and that he would deliver them to them. I ordered the chiefs Villa and Rodriguez with 14 men to cross to the other side of the lake to take away the 6 men that this chief had. In crossing the lake 3 horses belonging to the soldiers Fernando Felix, Vitorino, Martinez and Francisco Soto were drowned. As soon as the soldiers arrived at the rancheria of Yaulamen, the chief delivered the Christians.

At 11 o'clock on the fourth day the Captains arrived

where I was and I immediately set the gentiles free.

June 5.--After the rosary I set out for the rancheria of Bubal. I arrived there on the 6th at about 11 o'clock. After I had been there about an hour or an hour and a half, I told the chief that he must present all his people to me and deliver the 16 Christians that there were in his rancheria. He told me that they had all gone into the tular. I bound 9 gentiles and told the chief that I would not let them go free until he delivered the Christians to me, and that I was going to San Miguel and to catch 11 more that were on the way and to take them all to the presidio. In the afternoon they brought me 2 Christians. I could not cross on the eighth day because the horses were dying from thirst. Then some soldiers gave the horses water in baskets. On the eighth day I set out from Bubal and slept in Los Alamos at a place called Nido or Aura. The ninth day I set out at about 5 o'clock in the morning and reached San Miguel at about 6 in the afternoon. On the journey from Buena Vista to Bubal 10 horses of the number that were caught in the tular were exhausted and I delivered to the Father Juan Cabot to be delivered to the Commander Don Jose Estrada 47 beasts. from the Missions of San Luis, Purisima, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, San Fernando and San Gabriel. All the Indians which I brought to the presidio numbered 31 including gentiles and Christians.

Port of Monterey
June 22, 1828

[Signed] Sebastian Rodriguez

Carded

MISSION OF SAN JOSE

Mission of San José founded in 1797
in the place called by the natives Oroy-
som.

Buried the neophytes killed Oct.
25, 1813 in the rancheria of the Un- [25]
sumnes, where they had gone on an ex-
pedition with the troop.

1829. In the winter 8 neophytes set
out from the mission (San José) and the
gentile Ochejamnes killed them.

From Libros de San Francisco Estrac-
tos por Thomas Savage, Bancroft Library, MS,
1878.

The Mission of San Jose was founded
in the place called by the natives [21]
Oroysom.

Lasuen, Fundacion de Misiones, 1797,
in Archivos de la Mision de Sta. Barbara,
Vol. 6, p. 21, Bancroft Library, MS.

Tinkham, S. H.

1923. Hist. San Joaquin Co.

1880. Hist. of Stockton.

(Jose Jesus?)

Coy, O. C.

1948. In the Diggings in
Forty-nine.

Los Angeles

(p. 14 - Jose Jesus as gold miner)

Fairchild, F.

1912. Historical Sketch of Pioneer
Who Founded Stockton.

Grizzly Bear 12, #1.

(Jose Jesus as a gold miner for water)

W,

Amador

Mason, J. D.

1881

History of Amador County

Oakland

p. 34.

In recounting the history of José Jesus, a local Indian chief the author emphasizes the attempts of the Sierra Indians to ally themselves with the Americans against the Spanish with whom they regarded themselves at war. E.g. Alliance between José Jesus and Capt. Weber, the founder of Yockton. (1843-5)

p. 36.

Recounts murder of Lindsay at Yockton by Luck-hum-na tribe from Lone Valley. Pursued by a group of whites and friendly Indians - burnt rancheria - killed several Indians - who retreated into mountains.

Footnote: version of same fight by eye witness (D. T. Bird): short fight, Indian casualties unknown, one white man killed, party retreated without seriously injuring Indians.

Chief of Si-yak-um-na tribe, Jose Jesus.

Spoken of as the "celebrated chief of the Si-yak-um-na tribe", in 1841- 1842. --Frank T. Gilbert in History of Placer Co. p. 32, Oakland, 1882.

Also ~~called~~^{felt} Ho-za Ha-soos. --Ibid 34.

Mention is made of "Estanisloa, the former chief of the Si-yak-um-nas". --Ibid 34.

(For more detailed information, see slip on Si-yak-um-na tribe.)

JOSE JESUS

Frank T. Gilbert in a "History of California from 1513 to 1850" (published in Gilbert, Wells & Chambers, History of Butte County, 1882) states that during the Flores insurrection, Lieut. Edwin Bryant, Capt. R.T. Jacobs, and J.F. Reed started south with recruits from Sutter's Fort, Oct. 16, 1846. "In passing through what is now San Joaquin county," Gilbert writes, "they were joined by 30 Indians, among whom was the chief, José Jesus."--

Frank T. Gilbert in Gilbert, Wells & Chambers, History of Butte County, Calif., p. 73, 1882.

CHIEFS NAMES.

In his journal of November, 1846, Edwin Bryant writes:
"Messengers were sent . . . to the Indian chiefs on the San Joaquin river and its tributaries, to meet me at the most convenient points on the trail, with such warriors of their tribes as chose to volunteer as soldiers of the United States I rode forward, on the morning of the 17th, to the Michelemes river, (twenty-five miles from the Coscumne,) where I met Antonio, an Indian chief, with twelve warriors. . . . The names of the warriors were as follows:- Santiago, Masua, Kiubu, Tocosó, Nonelo, Michael, Weala, Arkell, Nicolas, Heel, Kasheano, Estephen. . . . On the 18th we met, at the ford of the San Joaquin river, another party of eighteen Indians, including their chiefs. Their names were -- José Jesus, Filipe, Raymundo, and Carlos, chiefs; Huliario, Bonefasio, Francisco, Nicolas, Pablo, Feliciano, San Antonio. Polinario, Manuel, Graviano, Salinordio, Romero, and Merikeeldo, warriors."

Bryant: What I Saw in California, 359, 1848.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE RANCHERIAS OF JOSÉ DE JESUS ON THE
TOULUMNE, ESTANISLAO & SAULON ON THE STANISLAUS, AND
THE MOQUELAMOS CHIEF CIPRIANO AT CALAVERAS.

Lieut. José Francisco Palomares, an early resident of San José, who held the office of Juez de Campo 1833-39, in Memoria given to the Bancroft Library, tells of a campaign against the above rancherías made under Peralta.

"General Figueroa noting that the gentile Indians, ⁽³¹⁾
of the Sierra Nevada,
made frequent raids on the ranches of this jurisdiction
of San José and others, ordered citizen Sebastian Peralta
of San José to get the people together and make a journey
to attack them on their own rancherías. Peralta easily
assembled a force of 17 men most accustomed to fighting
on Indian campaigns and who were always ready to fight
the enemies of their property and their peace and to ex-
terminate them. I was among the number. Nothing of note
happened on the journey of this party from the time we
set out from San Jose until we arrived at the rancheria
of José de Jesus, chief of the tribe of the Tagualumu ^[Toulumne]
River. He was a Christianized Indian, but had deserted ⁽³²⁾
from the Mission, and as he had the good qualities of a
leader, the Indians of the tribe before mentioned, named
him their chief. As we arrived, Gefe Peralta ordered the
attack, but the Indians that occupied the rancheria fled
without making any resistance, perhaps because their chief
was not there, or because they thought our numbers were
too great, leaving 24 beasts of those that they had
stolen. Seeing this, Peralta ordered us to march on, which
we did, arriving shortly at the Estanislao River. Here

there were two tribes or rancherias of Indians who made frequent raids to rob the white people. One of these was commanded by the famous Estanislao (Estanislado), (who took the name of the river) and the other by his brother Saulon, a little less renowned than he. Both

rancherias were at this time without people, [perhaps because they had hidden, knowing by some means of our arrival, or because the men were on a campaign and the women, old people, children and sick were hidden in the neighboring woods, as they were accustomed to do in such cases. In any event some few that were taking care of the stolen beasts ran away on seeing us and we took possession of them without any difficulty. From here we went on to the rancheria of the Moquelamos (which is called today Calaveras). We found all the Indian people gathered in a place called El Zanjon [the ditch] about three leagues away from the home of the tribe. We immediately attacked them on all sides, firing heavily on them and causing many losses. As they all tried to flee at the same time, they made a great crowd at which we fired without fear of miscalculating. Finally [their chiefs seeing that we were overpowering their people, sent to ask for a truce by an Indian who spoke Spanish, promising to deliver all of their people up at our discretion. Peralta ordered us to stop firing instantly and we surrounded them in a place where the chiefs could not escape us. Immediately we saw

them come out from the arroyo and make a circle, men, (35)
women and children, with arms crossed and eyes lowered in
humility. Some of the women carried their children dead
or wounded in their arms, and were weeping in a manner to
move us to compassion; others scarcely able to stand on
their feet came dripping blood, but always with their chil-
dren in their arms. By order^{of} the commander we tied
Cipriano, the chief of these Indians, and 15 of the worst
men of the tribe; also two Christian Indians from the
Mission of San José who had taken refuge among them. The
others we let go free, promising to exterminate them en- (36)
tirely if they again robbed us of our horses or killed
white people. About 30 were left dead in the ditch and
as those who were left alive did not take the trouble to
bury the bodies, they stayed there until they were nothing
but skulls and bones, and for this reason the place was
called Calaveras [skulls]. They had about 15 wounded, some
of whom probably died. Our side did not lose any men, and
it is certain that we surprised them and that they were en-
tirely unarmed for their bows and arrows were left in the
rancheria. The total number of these Indians amounted to
130. Peralta ordered us to conduct the prisoners bound
as they were to the Mission of San José. We set out for
the rancheria, taking the gentiles ahead, tied like a (37)
band of criminals.

By nightfall we came to the junction of the Estanislao
and San Joaquin Rivers. The commander assigned me to take

care of the prisoners, and as I was sleepy and very tired, (37)
I invented a means to secure them so that they could not
escape, even if I went to sleep. To this end, when all
our people were asleep, I took my reata and tied all the
Indians one to another; then I fastened the one on the end
to one tree and ^{the one} on the other end to another, so that the
Indians were left in a position like a string of beads
one after the other. Of course the prisoners were tied
with their hands behind their backs, and I had only to
knot together the cords that bound the hands of each of
them. The next day I saw that they were much inflamed,
perhaps by the movements that they made in the night (38)
in changing their forced position. Peralta ordered me to
conduct them to his presence, which I did, and after order-
ing each one of them to be given a dozen very severe lashes,
he talked to them at length advising them to remain quietly
in their rancherias and not go out to steal horses if they
did not want the white people to exterminate them entirely.
Then he ordered them to be set free, except the two
Christians whom we took to San José, and when they were
lost to view in the woods, he ordered our return to the
pueblo, which we did.

Two weeks afterwards, the chief Cipriano with all
his tribe presented himself to the Mission of San José
to be christianized. A few days afterwards they all
took Christian names, and from that time on this lot of

Indians was the whip of the landowners. They remained 38
very peaceful. Such was the effect produced by the massacre
of the Zanjon de Calaveras.

José Francisco Palomares, Memoria, pp. 31-38, MS, Bancroft
Library, 1877.

Translated by S.R. Clemence

Names of Indians

p. 2 - José Jesus
SACRAMENTO VALLEY

John A. Sutter in his Diary of Events from 1845-8 gives the following names of Indians who worked at Sutter's Fort or who came there for one reason or another.

Agustin (Muquelumne), 146

Aranaj

Antonio (Chief of Sewamaney), 72, 85

Benjamin (Alcalde), 158

Boile, 4

Butchi, 201

Carlos (Chief of Tawalemneys), 56

Chalabeage (Chief of Kishimo), 82

Chave, 82

Chenuc, 4

Chipcha, 4

Chulte, Chulty, 68, 164

Chupuhu, 201, 70

Comock, 59, 85

Cornelio (Chief of Tawalemneys), 56

Cornelius (Chief of Sogonomney's), 56

Dolosia, 4 ; Dolosheye (Sagayacumne), 120, 164

Dolohuik, 77

Dolojue, 4

Domach 66

Dyonilo (Sywameney alcalde), 59, 72, 80, 95

Emil, 4

Felipe, 95

Florio (Lakissimney chief), 56

Gasto (Ochejamney), 113

Guadalupe, 108

Guillermo, 69

Guyunas, 82

Harbing (Chief of Lapotatomney), 80

Helleno (Muquelemney), 68, 93, 204

Halueige, 70

Hashty, 77

Henriques (Sololomney), 104

Hincoy (Wapomney chief), 59

Holga, 82

Hockmula (Sagayacumni), 120

Homobono, 68, 77, 82

Hua, 104

Huguishe, 4

Hutchumney, 63, 82

Joaquin (Muquelemney), 69

Ignacio, 85

José Jesus (Chief of Chapesimney), 94, 95, 99

Lambacca, Hock chief

Lanchess (Wetza), 4

Leska, 95

Lorenzo, 85

Marcelino, 85

Maximo, 66, 134

Mayan (Chief & Alcalde), 59, 66, 82

Nerio (Chief & Alcalde), 59, 66, 74, 77
Oite, 211
Olél, 9
Oloi (Olash chief), 197
Olimpio, 108, 141
Omise, 95
Otuth (Bushoney), 80
Pablino (Walayomne ?), 211
Pachatu (Newutchumne chief), 106, 180, 188
Palaise, 4
Pamela, 178
Petok, (chief & alcalde) 59
Pollok, 88
Poltok, 66 , Poltoth, 66
Pollo, 82
Punago, 164
Remfio, 70
Raymundo (Lakissimney chief), 56, 99
Rufino (Moquelumney chief), 4
Sagaki (Gotaplánimes chief), 94
Sholapay, 4
Sholsia, 9
Shulule, Shulalé (Yusumney chief), 61, 66, 77
Sipay, 4
Skyuse chief, 70
Sopay, 4

Tlelochey, 173

~~Toakmome~~, 95

Toiko, 63

Tokolchi (lanhero), 5

Tomcha, 9

Ualáma, 4

Uequele, 95

Wakole, 88

Walashby (girl), 5

Witchin (Olash chief), 197

Wubul (Uotume chief), 66

Yatchie, 95

Yaeimae (Hua's wife), 104

Ycott, (girl of Willi tribe), 120

Yole, (Secumney chief), 4, 56, 85, 88, 134, 178

Zlua, 68

John A. Sutter, New Helvetia, Diary of Events from 1845-8,

MS Copy, Bancroft Library, 1881.

"This great Siyakumna chief, [José Jesús] believed that he and his people had been wronged by the Spanish, and he would never smoke the pipe of peace with them. He would swoop down upon the plains and carry off their stock, taking it to his strong hold in the foot-hills of the Sierras, and if the missions or settlers of those valleys saw fit to attempt a rescue, he fought them, and was universally victorious. The San Joaquin river divided his territory from the Californians, and when east of that stream he was upon his "native heath," and it was rare indeed that the pursuers followed him into his own country. They had learned better in their battle on the banks of the Stanislausⁱⁿ, 1829, when Estanislao, the former chief of the Siyakumnas, defeated their combined San Jose and Yerba Buena forces."

--Illustrated History of San Joaquin County, Calif. p 39, 1890 .

The city of Stockton was located by José Jesús, a powerful chief of the Siyakumna tribe who advised Capt. C. M. Weber to build the American village at that place, and agreed to furnish all the help necessary in tilling the soil — which promise was fulfilled — Hist. San Joaquin Co., Calif. 442, 1890.

Stoning to death

PUNISHMENT OF INDIAN FOR COMMITTING ADULTERY
BY CHIEF JOSE JESUS ON CALAVERAS RIVER

Vincente P. Gomez (who came to California as clerk for Geh. Micheltorena) in a Book of Recollections written by him for the Bancroft Library, gives the following account of an Indian execution of an adulterer, which he witnessed on Calaveras River in 1849..

Vincente P. Gomez, Lo que Sabe sobre Cosas de California
[What I know about California Affairs], pp. 25-29,
MS, Bancroft Library, 1876.

INDIANS OF SAN JOAQUIN CO.

The following is taken from the History of San Joaquin Co:

p.12

"At the death of 'Estanislao', 'Jose Jesus' became chief of the tribe, the Si-yak-um-na, with his rancharia at Knights Ferry, called by the Indians 'Cha-pa-ir-ey'. The range of his tribe was between the Stanislaus and French Camp Creek. They were always friendly to the Americans, but were hostile to the native Californians. Jesus once made a raid upon San Jose, driving from the town 1000 horses away to his stronghold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada. He was an educated Indian, and at one time was an alcalde at San Jose, but believing his people were wronged by being deprived of the herds which they had helped the 'Padres' to accumulate, he returned to San Joaquin and headed foraging expeditions against the Missions, making a wholesale business of taking from them what he deemed to be his own. He was a man who stood 6 feet high, dressed in the full gala day attire of the Spanish ranchero, with cotton shirt and drawers, calzonayos, sash, serape, and sombrero. He was different from his followers; he was cleanly, proud and dignified in his habits and deportment, and we regret to say that he was severely wounded by an American in Stockton in 1849, the act being wholly unjustifiable. Capt. Weber, learning the fact, procured the services of Dr. W. M. Ryer, paying him \$500 therefor, and thus saved the life of his friend, the chief. A remnant of the tribe may yet be seen in the vicinity of Knights Ferry."

— History of San Joaquin Co. 12-13, Oakland, 1879.
Thompson & West, Pubrs.

Chiefs Jose' Jesus & Estanisloa

Si-yak-um-na. "During the winter of 1841-2 José Jesus (pronounced Ho-za Ha-soos), the celebrated chief of the Si-yak-um-na tribe, visited the fort [Sutter's], at which time the Captain first met him. In after years there sprang up a warm friendship between these 2 men that had much to do with the peaceable manner in which the country was afterwards settled by the whites."

—Frank T. Gilbert in History of Placer Co. 32, Oakland, 1882.
(Thompson & West, Pubrs.)

Continuing, Mr. Gilbert states that the Indians in the territory between the Tuolumne and Mokelumne rivers were divided up into rancherias or villages, each village having its chief and name. "Consequently there was a number of petty chiefs, but all acknowledged an indefinite but undisputed supremacy and authority in the chief of the Si-yak-um-nas, Ho-za Ha-soos, who had made himself a terror to the Spanish inhabitants of Northern California."
—Ibid 34.

Mention is made of "Estanisloa, the former chief of the Si-yak-um-nas". —Ibid 34.

Heinrich Lienhard

Extracts.--Lienhard, Californien, unmittelbar vor und nach der
Entdeckung des Goldes, 1898, Zurich.

(page references to original)

On April 31, 1846, Heinrich Lienhard* and a party p.10
bound for California left St. Louis by boat ^{for} to Independ-
^{in the valley of Indian Creek}
ance, where they joined a large emigrant party, with 26 p.16
ox wagons and started westward. On July 20 they reached p.64
~~the~~ Green River, near Fort Britscher [Bridger]; on Aug. 7 p.70
Salt Lake; on Aug. 8 they left the Wasatch Mountains on p.71
their left, and the following day skirted the shore of p.72
Salt Lake. "On August 10", he says, "^{they} we reached a valley
where there were a few very deep ^{salt-free} [sweet-water] springs. Since
leaving Fort Britscher, ^[Ft. Bridger] where there were Indians of the Sioux
tribe, ^{up to this time} they had seen no others. Here the Indians were dark-
complexioned, poorly clad, ^{short, thick-set} ~~stunted~~ fellows, who were said
to belong to the Utah tribe. At this place they were called
Diggers, because they partly live off roots which they dig
with sticks out of the ground. They have a reputation for
and treacherous
being false and are said to kill the whites whenever they
have no reason to fear retribution.

"On August ¹⁹ ~~20~~ ^{they} we reached the first sweet water spring p.81
after leaving the Salt Desert. ^{Today} Here in our camp there were
two hunters, Frenchmen, I think, as well as two Shoshawnee-
Indians, who had difficulty in making themselves mutually
understood. ^{As provisions they carried with them} Their food consisted of a brownish paste con-
tained in leather bags, which they ^{hunters} said was prepared from
edible roots. One of the hunters said that

*In the preface the publisher states that this biography
was written in 1870, from diary notes taken during
Lienhard's journeys.

at the last camping place he had lost a revolver, which had been found by an Indian. Not knowing ^{ex} whether the weapon was loaded, nor how to handle it, the Indian had played with it, whereupon it had gone off and slightly wounded him. As a result the Indians had looked upon the revolver as a mysterious thing of which to be afraid. They seemed to believe that the Monito (Great Spirit) had fired the shot, as a sign p.82 that they were not to keep the article; so they had carefully picked it up and having noted the direction in which the hunters had gone, ~~they~~ had returned the revolver to them, so that 'Monito' should not take vengeance on them in some other manner. The hunters made no effort to enlighten them; on the ~~contrary~~, they endeavored to confirm their superstition." . .

On August 24 the ^{Boys} five Germans went on ahead, and p.83
~~after passing some~~ ^{for the most part salty} ^{times} sweet water springs ~~which they found~~
~~on their road through~~
~~from time to time in the Salt Desert, they reached a gorge~~
where two years previously a party of emigrants had dug a spring. "After passing a very anxious night", says Lienhard, "for fear of attacks by the Indians ^{here between the rocks} ~~in the~~ gorge, we ~~went on and~~ soon reached a plateau where ~~we~~ ^{and} found ^{there} a circle of piled up cedar branches, closely inter-
twined. We tried in vain to make out the object of this arrangement. Later we learned that the Indians ~~were in~~ ^{caught} the habit of hunting antilopes ^{here} at this place; they enticed them ^{inside} to the spot and then shot ^{down} at them with their arrows. They are said to have learned this ~~device~~ from the wolves, which, ~~when~~ not less than four in number,

hunt the antelope by ^{so} place themselves ^{that about} at equal distances remain always between two wolves. ~~from each other.~~ When the antelope is surrounded by the wolves, ^{still at a great distance} these four-footed hunters ^{ever} gradually ^{draw nearer} approach it from a distance, ^{so that} reducing the size of the circle and making ^{constantly becomes smaller} and the animal ventures ~~less and less~~ to break through it it more and more difficult for the antelope to escape between ^{two} the wolves. ^{In its terror the hunted animal loses its reason} As a result the prey becomes terri- p.84
fied, ^{and becomes, so to speak,} paralyzed and blinded by fear, so that it is easy ^{have easy sport} for the pursuers to attack it and tear it to pieces. . ."

"We remained here until the 26th. ["] Although we saw no Indians ~~near~~, we saw their fires on the surrounding heights. ["] ~~We continued our journey without any disturb-~~
^(and without particularly interesting happenings, the journey went on,) ~~ance from them,~~ until on August 29 we reached a dry, ^{dry,} broad valley, through which the road led ^{towards the mountains} across two ^{lying on the other side of the valley which we hoped to find again at last} mountain ranges. ^{good and abundant water and grass. We were disappointed} ~~though for it was not until at the foot of another, higher more distant mountain~~ and about 30 Indians, who lived in the vicinity of our camp. ^{They were nearly all men of 18-50 years in age.} The party consisted almost entirely of men, ranging in age between 18 and 50 years. The two eldest were big-bellied old men. While ^{crabbed} a sour-faced Englishman was smoking his clay pipe ^{and} the Indians ^{gave} sought to make him ^{to} understand, by means of signs, that they ^{also} would like to take a few whiffs ^{from his pipe.} But the Englishman repelled them in a very ungracious manner. . . ^{had} Although the Indians did not understand his words, they clearly ^{had} caught his meaning, ^{and at this be} which was indicated ^{known from} by their black looks. Moreover, the ^{unfriendly} ~~at-~~ ^{behavior} ~~tude~~ of the Englishman was condemned as very rough and ^{impudent} tactless by our fellow-travelers, ^{so} ^{elderly} ^{woman, . . .} an American lady ^{was clever enough to remove the ill-humor} cleverly diverted the discontent of the Indians by lighting her own pipe and handing it to one of the ^{Indian pot bellies.} fat men. He

accepted it with every sign of satisfaction, took ten or twelve whiffs, ^{from it} expelling the smoke through his nose; and then ^{he} handed the pipe with gestures of great contentment to the ^{his equally pot-bellied neighbor. From} other fat Indian. ^{The latter} passed it on to the ^{excellence of the smoke.} third, and so on, until they had all tasted the pipe, ^{All were highly pleased over the} ~~whereat they all expressed great pleasure at the honor which~~ the white woman had conferred upon them, ^{and} but did not ^{in contrast to this,} ~~omit to cast venomous glances at~~ ^{Surrey} the Englishman ^{with venomous, vindictive glances.} . . .

"The two old squaws, who were the only women among the ~~party of~~ Indians, looked on with pleasure at this smoking ceremony. They were the most revoltingly hideous persons that I ^{have} ever seen. ^{for} As they only wore a small fur around ^{their loins,} ~~they were practically naked,~~ and with their big, wrinkled, dirty stomachs they resembled old sows which had ^{a short time before} been sprawling in a muddy stream; ^{Sometimes} only I think that a half-way decent pig would have exceeded them in beauty. These Indian women marvelled at the delicate, smooth, almost ^{white-blond} ~~blanched~~ hair of one of the children of our ~~party,~~ a fine six-year old boy. ^{Their} The loud laughter of the squaws resembled ^{an extremely} a high-pitched screech, and when ^{during which} uttering this sound, they distorted their faces in ^{the most} a hideous manner. They could not ^{look enough at} ~~take their eyes off~~ the boy, and kept on pointing at him. Their speech resembled the shrieking of a number of magpies when approached by a cat or a fox. These squaws did not sit with the men, but apart, ~~and~~ they, like the men, only came to our camp to satisfy their curiosity... The men wore neckpieces ^{bands}

made of bears' claws, and ^{otherwise they were} but for that, ^{entirely} were almost naked. ^{Their complexion was darker than that of} They were ~~darker complexioned than~~ the Sioux, ^{also they were not so} and ~~less~~ tall and stately as ~~they~~.

"A few days after leaving this ^{here} region we reached the ^{most abundant in springs} most fertile region between Missouri and California. Here ^{there were} we found gorgeous funnel-shaped reservoirs, ^{there} which appeared almost artificial. . . . On the morning of the 6th ^{the ground was considerably} ~~there was a slight~~ ^{frozen} frost, ^(was a stern warning to) which warned us that we must not ^{to} let ourselves be overtaken by the winter ^{here} in the mountains. . . .

"Once I found an Indian sitting near the road, I approached him and sat down beside him. His hairy back was like velvet and I stroked ^{him a few times on it while I kindly looked him in the face} it, and ~~smiled at him~~. The Indian appeared ~~to be~~ neither frightened nor angry at my behavior and confidential manner; ^{but} on the contrary, he nodded ^{to me with laughter} and ~~smiled in return~~. As, unfortunately, we could not converse, we had to ^{assist ourselves} ~~be content~~ with signs and ^{movements} ~~movements~~. Remembering the edible roots, I took up my ^{in my hand} stick, and made a movement as if ^{sign} to dig, ^(I would) ^{something out} pointing at the ~~same time~~ to my mouth, and moving my jaws. He ^{sprang} quickly up from his seat, ~~sprang up~~, hunted ^{around} on the grass near the road, and in a few minutes returned with a few small yellow roots. I signed to him to eat ^{of them} first, which he ^(immediately) did; then I also bit off a small piece and carefully tasted it. The ^{taste} ~~root~~ resembled a parsnip in taste and I ate the remainder with relish. ^{This} The Indian seemed ^{to} pleased ^{him} at that and he quickly ^{dig} ~~went on digging~~ ^{still} for more. Then he ran off, picked up a few large grasshoppers, pressed the largest ^{of them, with long feet for leaping,} ~~on to the~~

upon the root and indicated that I was to eat it. ^{when I refused this} He expressed ^{p.87} great surprise at my repugnance and refusal to eat

this sandwich, and in order to show me that he was not asking anything unusual ^{of me,} he himself took a bite, and ^{whilst he wished to} handed ^{again to me} me the rest. He appeared ^{to have pity} sorry for the obvious stupidity of the whites...

"When ~~we~~ five German boys ^{had for each of us three} ~~eat down to our supper of~~ cakes made of bread dough, ^{baked in fat, besides this a little,} buffalo meat and tea, ^{or coffee, . . . as we} ~~our~~ ^{here about to take our supper in the tent and had seated ourselves in the ground for this purpose,} our Indian friend came, ^{without lengthy} and ^(alone and) underemoniously sat down next to me, indicating, that he, too, would like to eat now. He received ^{thereby,} then from each a half cake, . . . and the guest seemed to be well pleased and went ~~then~~ contentedly from there. The eating of tented. Unfortunately, the raw vegetables that I had made itself ^{noticed that painful effects} upon Thomann and especially upon me. ^{Rather} from him gave me severe pains ^{were the results. So that} during the night, although ^{the night} I had not eaten these dainties. I was all right in the morning, however, my condition was normal.

"On the 7th in the morning eight Indians appeared in our camp, among them ^{also} my friend of the night before. . . . My root-friend ^{with} The latter had his hands full of roots which he wanted

to give me, but the pain of the previous night deprived ^{deprived} me of all desire to eat. ^{So that he would not think me ungrateful,} I succeeded by means of ^{I had to make known to him the reason of my refusal. . . .} I bent myself forward ^{and with both hands held my belly and groaned as if I had the most violent stomach-ache.} greens and movements in indicating my reason for refusing the roots, which provoked great merriment among them. ^{The Indians had understood me completely. . . . and there} ^{reounded a perfect storm of laughter from their throats} My friend laughed more heartily than any of them, ^{the most} and ^{p.88} threw ^{his} the roots on my back. . . ."

"On September 11 we ^{camped on} reached the banks of the Marys ^{p.90} River (Humboldt), ^{at the foot of the} with a range of mountains ^{on the} at our right. For a long time we had ^{set} ceased to keep ^{no more} watch at night, for we were too exhausted when ⁱⁿ the evening came. Luckily

Everything had gone well up to date and ^{especially experienced} we had ~~never~~ been ^{serious unpleasantness in account of} ~~disturbed by~~ the Indians. On the morning of September 12, ^{now} however, ^{we missed} three of our oxen ^{there were signs}... The tracks showed that they had been driven into the distant valleys, but p.91. we did not dare follow them, but continued on our way ^{about} for 12 miles, where we again camped, and where one of ^{Kiburg's} ~~stolen~~ ^{back} the oxen returned to us. . .

"On the 14th we ^{came near} ~~reached~~ a high, very sandy hill, which ^{we} had to be crossed. ^{the following morning} After doing so we ~~reached~~ a place which had formerly obviously been a fine camping ground. ^{On a willow plot} From a willow tree near the road hung a piece of paper, ^{on it was} on which was written that at this place the Indians had commenced shooting ^{with} their arrows at the oxen of the white men, which ^(and then) had led to a fight between about 30 whites and over 200 Indians. ^{had taken place} Of the former one had ^{seriously} been mortally and several others only slightly wounded, and ^{of the latter} it was assumed, ^{men} that about ten of the Indians had been killed and a number wounded.

"So the Indians had not hesitated to attack about thirty men, and we ^{are} were but five! What ^{shall} should we do? Shall we wait ^{until our party comes up} for the rest of the party? ^{He was however soon agreed} Eventually we decided ^{p.93} that we considered the waiting an act of cowardice. ^{after I had} We put the paper back where ^I it had ^{gotten it} been found, ^{and where} so that other passers-by might see it, ^{we} and went on. . .

"We often wondered ^{on} what ^{food} the Indians ^{lived} had as food, p.94 as the rivers appeared to contain no fish. We surmised that at certain ^{various} seasons grasshoppers, ^(that we met with, if no surmise, that these at certain seasons) constituted their

might constitute the
good of these Indians
^ chief ~~article~~ of subsistence, for at the 'Sweetwater' we found
Strichweiss
by plate
them so thick that we could not put our feet to the ground
without stepping on them. Some of them were two inches ~~in~~ *long*
length. . . .

"On September 20, ~~after various false alarms, but~~ *we had decamped early.* p. 97
~~no signs of Indians, We left the shores of the river, and~~ *till 4 o'clock in the evening.*
~~had the intention to camp here~~
~~came to a place where we decided to camp. But here, our~~ *where*
attention was drawn to a freshly made grave mound. On a
low bush beside it we noticed a small piece of paper, on
which ~~were~~ *was* written the following ~~words~~: 'Look out for
Indians. In this grave lies a man who in the fight, *with the Indians* further
up was mortally wounded, ~~by the Indians.~~ *and buried here.* Upon our arrival
we found that ~~he had been dug up~~ *him dug up* out of his grave, and
stripped of all his clothes; his body was mutilated, and *for*
ears, nose, fingers and scalp were cut off. We buried him
again, *then* in the same grave.'

"This ~~episode took away all desire of the travelers to~~ *was a piece of news, which made the place undesirable for us*
to spend the night. After we and the cattle had drunk, and we had
use the place as a camping ground, so they went on their
provided ourselves with some water, we went on further and came again upon
way, until they reached another plateau in the desert.
the higher lying desert plain. . . .

"On September 21st, ~~Lienhard continues,~~ *we continued on* p. 98
journey till 4 o'clock in the evening, with only a short halt, there we found a bush
another place where there was again a paper hanging from a
on which bush, ~~with~~ *were written* the following words, [given in English]:

'Look out for the Indians, kill every one who comes, for
there are great thieves here'. . . We had again approached
the river, and had no idea that there could really be

Indians in our vicinity. But hardly had I ~~replaced~~ *struck* the
again in the same place, when I looking to the left saw something
piece of paper, ~~when I saw an Indian approaching, from the~~
which very much resembled a man. In fact it was an Indian
whom we then upon the advice of the fire going to us, should have
immediately shot dead. . . .

left. ~~In view of the directions contained on the paper~~
we had serious thoughts of shooting him, But the wild man
approached ^{us} in so ^{quietly} unconcerned and unsuspectingly a manner, ~~so~~
that we ~~had not the heart to do so.~~ ^{could not kill him.} ~~The Indian~~ ^{had already} walked
with us a little way and informed us that he was a Shoshanee
and came from the ^{back} mountains behind us. He was a big man
^{more so.} and his clothing consisted of a sleeveless, high and greatly
patched doublet, which had undoubtedly been thrown away as
useless by some backwoods emigrant. The road ~~here~~ lay ^{new}
close to the river and we decided to camp ^{here}. But what should
we do with the Indian? Had he ~~really~~ ^{perhaps} come to spy upon us?
None of us wished to be the murderer of ^{the presumably} a supposedly inno- p.99
cent man, ^{But} and if he left the camp, ^{there must be a} ~~we took the risk~~ ^{that he could} of his
~~returning~~ ^{greater} with a number of companions and attacking us in
the night. As I ^{of all of us} knew best how to make myself understood
by means of signs, I tried to ^{learn} ~~gather~~ ^{something} some information from
him, and from what I gathered, ^(as I thought to understand him) he ^{wished} ^{to tell us,} seemed to say that he and
~~two others~~ ^{gone from} had left their region, ^{with one another} to proceed to the Sink of
Marys River, and that, ^{they,} to reach that place ^{absolutely must} it ~~was necessary~~
to spend one night ~~on the road~~. I drew a serpentine line
in the sand with a dot at the lower end, pointed to the
river and by signs tried to ask whether his two other
companions were sleeping at the Sink. He nodded affir-
matively. We had ^{already} decided to keep the Indian in our camp
by the promise of a present. ^{Rippstein had} ~~so we collected~~ an old ^{coat...} coat,
^{Another had} a pair of ^{old} trousers, ^{We had picked up that same day an old} and a basket, filled with dried buffalo
^{(which we}

with these gifts I went ^{and gave him to understand} meat, and indicated to the Indian, that he would receive ^{these magnificent} ^{things} these gifts the next morning if he would ^{sleep with us till sun rise.} spend the night ^{readily agreed to} with us. The Shoshanee gladly accepted this offer, ^{arrangement} however, ^{to our Indian we gave} ever we kept our weapons in constantly readiness. After ^{of our supper what we had for ourselves and he ate it with good appetite. Before we lay down} eating some supper, which he greatly enjoyed, I showed ^{the place} him where he was to sleep on the ground, ^{just} in front of the shaft of the wagon, where I could easily observe him. ^{which he immediately took like a well trained dog. Then I climbed into} the wagon and lay down so that I needed only to open my eyes to see him. . . . p.100

However, nothing happened during the night, and the next ^{the early morning, it was the 22nd of September, when the first of us got up, the Indian} morning the Indian helped us make our fire. ^{in the making in which he showed himself very} We dressed ^{pleasant and skillful. He naturally allowed him to share our breakfast. As soon as this was} him in his new clothes, to his great delight, and after indicating that he was going to the Sink to join his companions, the Shoshanee ^{to us several times pleasantly} nodded and smiled and ^{then} went on his way. . . .

"Late in the evening [of the 23rd] we reached the Sink, p.101 ^{we were very tired. . . . and} of which the Indian had spoken. . . . We slept very heavily, only too well, and as a result we found ^{for in} the next morning that 5 of our animals were missing. . . . I soon discovered that they had been driven off by three or four Indians, ^{very near} across the river and across and over ^{to} the mountains in the direction of the Sink, where, according to the statement of the Indian, three or four of his people ^{this way} had gone. ^{to the Sink. Naturally this fact caused great agitation,} We were particularly worried at ^{for we had from here to the Prentiss River. [Truckee River] which flows down from the} this occurrence, as we had before us the 40 mile arid ^{eastern slope of the} stretch across the Sierra Nevada, ^{a 40 miles long distance without grass and water, 6 miles of which was a deep sandbank. . . .} to the Prentiss River.

Moreover, I had ^{again} found another scrap of paper in a low ^{plant} shrubby bush, which warned us to keep close watch, as the Indians of that neighborhood were terrible thieves. Unfortunately, this valuable ^{warning} advice ^{came} was found too late to be put to use. . . ."

The journey across the Sierra Nevada to Sutters Fort p.112-120
passed uneventfully, without any disturbances.

Lienhard, reviewing the life of Sutter, states that when in Mexico (about 1835) he was commissioned by ^{Abnerado} the then Governor of California to colonize the highly fertile valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, particularly the former, which were at that time exclusively inhabited by Indians. . . . # "At the beginning ~~the~~

p.123

^{furnished} Government supplied him with food supplies, as well as

p.124

with trinkets, ^{for presents} articles of clothing, etc., for the Indians, in order to ^{dispose them favorably for the new settlement} tempt them to settle down in the

colony". . . "The Sacramento-Indians", Lienhard says,

"were the first ~~who~~ ^{settlement} approach the colony; but they merely surveyed the new arrivals ^{only} from a ^{considerable} distance, ^{and} refusing to

understand the ^{various} invitation signs. . . . However, by tempt-

[#] "In order to gain the confidence of the Indians they laid all kinds of ing them with trinkets, ^{where} they were gradually induced to approach and soon made friends with the colonists. . . . p.125

[#] "In this way it was brought about that several came into the camp, where only kindness was shown them, and the best time there appeared a greater number. After that it was easy to win them over to work for him,

them ^{After these men had shown sufficient confidence, it would be easy in return for ^{pay} presents) to employ them (also for work and in this way generally accustom them to work.}

"The Sacramento-Indians, who lived ^{where} on the site of

the ^{now} present Sacramento City, ^{stands} and the Busheny-Indians,

who ^{lived} inhabited the region at the junction of the Sacra-

mento and the American Fork, on the right shore of

the ^{latter} last-named river, were said to be deadly enemies

and had always ^{had a} lived in feud with each other. Only the

river offered both tribes some ^{security} protection from their

mutual attacks. Their languages ^{was} also were very different.

with indicated that these valuable things were intended for them.

Infatant

This hostility had been also to blame
It was due in part to this feud that no Busheny-Indians had
put in an appearance at Sutter's Fort ^{in the settlement.} for ^{probably} about a year;

At first ^{the} ~~in part~~, owing to fear of their new neighbors. ^(was to blame for it and afterwards the antipathy) However, ^{against the other Indians, who were sometimes met now in the settlement.}

Eventually these barriers were broken down, after which

These Indians became Sutter's chief workers. . . Little
by little Sutter ^{had} managed to ^{place himself in a friendly footing with Indians of} win the friendship of the
the surrounding ^{country} tribes, subordinating and taming ^{and} the super-
stitious and hostile ^{minded} Indians, with the help ^{of the whites and} of the Indians. . .
^{had been thrown or punished by force.} friendly to him

"The first nights that I spent at the Fort I was p.137

unable to sleep, ^{in the fort} ^{because made} owing to the ^{peculiarly} unpleasant

noise ^{produced by} the playing Indians. I ^{would not} should never

have thought, ^{at that time} that in two years' time I should have be-
come thoroughly accustomed to the noise, ^{as this actually then was the case.}

Lienhard spent several days at Sutter's, after which
he and a party of volunteers went down the river to San p.128
Francisco, in order to join the United States army. Upon p.129
arriving at San Francisco he and some others were sent
on board the U.S. "Portsmouth". He says: "Our Shoshawnee- p.132
Indian, who, driven by curiosity, had joined the emigrant
party and come on with us, aroused ^{the} universal ^{attention of the crew.} curiosity."

In about ten days' time the volunteers were sent on p.133
to San José. Lienhard says: "^{To Our Indian} At this place ^{our} (Shoshawnee) p.136
^{here} was joined by two more ^{persons} of his tribe, - I think father
and son. They appeared delighted at the unexpected meeting,
and conversed together, especially in the evening, ^{upon going to bed} in their
strange, half loud, whispering method, of talking. As a

^{so that the} result most of our people, ^{disturbed by} unaccustomed to these unusual sounds, ^{could not sleep and often called to our allies finally to be still.} called on them to be quiet. . . .

After peace was re-established, ^{with Mexico} Lienhard decided to p.146
return to Sutters Fort. He writes:

"The hardest part of the journey back from Monterey to New Helvetia was the section from the mouth of the Sacramento up the river. ^{as traveling} My companions ^{he had} were a certain Mr. Dawel and an Indian. . . . Soon after starting the p.146-148

journey, while attempting to cross some swampy ground by means of an overhanging tree, ^{they} ~~we~~ suddenly heard a loud ^{whiff} whistle, which immediately scared away all the birds of

the vicinity. ^{He writes:} "Our Indian, who understood the sounds p.148
and voices of Nature better than we, ^{civilized people and noises in a primal forest} appeared quite excited ^{over loud whiff?} by the whistle, and looked around ^{him} everywhere without moving from the spot. Observing this I asked him [answers to questions all given in English]: 'Is it a wolf?' 'No, no!' 'Is it a stag?' 'No, no!' 'Is it an elk?' 'No, no!' 'Well, is it a grey bear?' 'Yes, yes,

yes!' was the quick, decided answer. . . . ^{had} As we ~~were~~ not a single shot ^{to send against him to frighten him.} I looked around me quickly for a place of refuge, ~~armed, we had to get away as well as we could; at first I went slowly and cautiously looking around us everywhere, then quicker and at last more confidently furtively, then running, and luckily we were unmolested.~~ ^{in real flight to run from there.}

The fact that the grey bear ^{follow} let us escape ^{unmolested,} without attacking us must be ^{have come from} attributed to the fact that he had been

watching us ⁱⁿ make our curious crossing of the tree-viaduct ^{on} and did not know exactly what he must make of this spectacle and had been unable to account for the strange perform-

ance. The loud rustling of the tree ^{at the} when we let ^{him} go of the branches and ^{especially} the sudden flight of the ^{his feathered fellow habitants of this} birds must have ^{wilderness must have frightened him.} filled him with fear."

"There were great quantities of hogs in this neighborhood, which originally constituted part of Sutter's herd, but had been neglected and run wild. They doubtless served as an occasional repast for the king of these regions, the grey bear. . . ."

Upon arriving at Fort Sutter, Lienhard was asked to take charge of a truck farm, 3 miles from Haekfarm, or Heakfarm, which Sutter had recently started at a place called Minal, situated on the Yuba, a tributary of the Sacramento. He says:

"With Indians, whom Sutter had employed as workers, I embarked at ~~I obtained my Indian workmen from Sutter's tannery~~

on the American River, or American Fork, as ~~it is~~ ^{the river is also} called. . . . As provisions there were in a basket from 50 to 60 pounds of beef and in a sack. ~~We took plentiful supplies. The Indians in particular~~ ^{for the rest} had provided themselves pretty well with taking great bales of smoked fish eggs and smoked ducks.

We put off from the shore and soon reached the small Bushny village, where the Indians wished to stay and spend over the night, ~~although it was yet early.~~ ^{taking their cows with them, and also} They invited me to come with them, but I declined. . . . ~~It was not until late~~ ^{In the morning it was pretty late}

~~the next morning that it pleased the lazy Bushunes to join me and proceed on the way.~~ ^{before} Soon after noon the Indians showed me a racoon, which I shot and ~~roasted for supper; . . .~~ ^{he dressed that evening to cook in the morning} . . . p.158

but the Indians did not care to eat the meat. . . . A short distance above the mouth of the American Fork is the site of a place where formerly numbers of Indians lived, but who were wiped out by an epidemic disease. . . .

"The spring of 1847 was ^{very} mild and favorable for ^{the} growing garden, and Soon after my arrival in Minal ^{many} the Indians began to come every day in great numbers to our house

From Haekfarm to Minal. . . . Both the Indians arrived with the departure 50. . . . If native animals appeared there, each one had a childish pleasure. The Indians had taken my three heads the things I had brought along and soon was. The barely two miles distant garden reached on foot. . . . 20 to 30 pounds of unrefined coarse wheat flour in the boat.

boats for Minal

from the neighboring communities of Sidume, Yuba and Minal.
^{of whom several were} ~~We~~ employed some of them in helping us dig a trench round ^{by to} the garden, ^{and I must admit that they accomplished the work not badly at all.} and they proved quite good workers. p.163

"On Sundays there were ^{nearly} always ^{more or fewer} a number of these bronze complexioned gentlemen about the house, ^{now moved by} urged to come partly out of curiosity, ^{not for themselves perhaps an} partly from the desire to exchange some old, worn-out piece of clothing for a small fox or wild cat ^{skin full of exquisite arrows with a bow from us to buy} fur filled with a beautiful bow and arrows. These arrows were all provided with flint tips....The Indians would invite us ^{with them} then to shoot at various objects; ^{I was the only one who accepted this invitation} which offer I accepted...The

Indians of California, at least those of the region of the Sacramento and Feather Rivers, ^{in the entirely well built} are usually of a fine build, and many of them are slender and well proportioned. ^{of good proportion} Their ^{mouth is} mouths are broad and full lipped, and their hair is coarse and black, ^{Such as not seldom in locks.} frequently falling in locks. The men usually wear a very black moustache and goatee, ^{chin beard à la Napoléon, this} which appears ^{of itself so to grow, without their tending it.} however grow naturally in this way. The arm muscles are rarely

^{strongly} ~~much~~ developed, probably owing to the fact that these men perform very little heavy work. Their toes ^{are} point inwards, ^{like those of} as is the case with all Indians,...They let their wives perform the hardest tasks; the latter have to prepare the acorn flour, ~~which they do~~ by pounding the acorns with heavy stones,

~~They also~~ gather the roots and grass, ^{as well as} and carry the loads in large, ^{often} usually water-proof, funnel-shaped baskets, which they carry on their backs ^{with help} by means of a strap passed over their heads, Meanwhile their lords and masters stride on ^{in proud erect carriage} with arrow and bow in the hand go ahead of them. ahead, majestic and proud, carrying nothing but their bow and arrows. ^{employ themselves with fish catching,} The men do the fishing and make good catches, ^{which is often very tolerable [profitable],} p.163

erträglich = profitabel

particularly at the season when many ^{the} thousand salmon ^{in thousands} come p.164 up the river to spawn, ^{where they there in great number are} At such times the fish is easily caught, ^{in order to keep them for a longer time smoked.} and smoked and preserved for a long time. The roe is dried in the same way and smoked and preserved as a delicacy. The Indians ^{the catching of ducks and geese and other} also hunt birds, and water fowl ^{is carried in with profit.} in many of the 'sloughs' of the neighborhood.

"In every village can be seen stuffed birds, as ornaments, and ^{which} these ^{are} sometimes used as decoys to catch more easily the many thousand migratory birds that pass by ^{ing (in thousands)} in the autumn and spring. ^{Generally there are on these ponds also thick} The Indians hide among the bushes in ^{the Indians can hide themselves} which surrounding the ponds in this marshy region. They construct Rafts ^{placed here with} of rushes and reeds, which they cover ^{are} with dried grass, and ^{over} this in turn is covered with earth, thus ^{form} constituting small floating islands, ^{are strewn} which they ^{which serve} strew with seeds, ^{as tidbits.} to tempt the ducks and geese. On these islands they ^{are} also placed a few ^{of the} stuffed ducks and geese in a natural position, and toward the background they attach a bow of the same length and width as the artificial island, to which is fixed a net. When ^{stands, if it is open,} this bow is open it is approximately at right angles to the surface of the ground; a rope is attached to the top of it which is held by the ^{an} Indian hidden in the bushes.

"When the swarms of ducks and geese come flying ^{near} in the direction of the island, ^{is almost} as happens continually, the ^{the case} Indian ^{hidden in the bush lets be heard the imitated notes} exactly imitates ^{which} ^{to take the meal ready prepared for them.} the ^{nothing} birds and the sound attracts the hungry migrants. At the psychological ¹⁵⁵ moment the hidden man with a strong pull draws down the ^{until the favorable moment is there and} ^{pulls with a strong jerk} until the favorable moment is there and ^{pulls} with a strong jerk

the cackling An escape is no longer possible and now is
bow over the birds, and they are thus easily ensnared and p.165
piece after piece taken out and killed. If the catch is so big that the
killed soon after. All the game that cannot be eaten is
animals cannot be eaten fresh, the rest are
smoked and preserved. The Indians use the feathers to make
large warm covers, which they use in the cold damp weather, ^{wrap around themselves}
When I was with them these covers appeared ^{at that time to have been almost} to constitute the
the only article of clothing of both men and women, for besides ^{the latter were}
^{as naked as the men with the exception of} these they were only a number of fringes around their waists,
about 1 1/2 feet ^{so long} in length, one end of which hung down in ^{which they had fastened to a girdle around their hips,}
^{and of which the one half hung down in} front and the other behind, leaving the loins ^{in a very pretty free and} almost un-
covered. In the catching of small fish ^{the women}
^{and likewise} the women knit nets, which are used for catching small
fish and small birds. Woodpeckers, of which there are many
in California, are caught with the help of torches, ^{as} These
^{they are awakened from their sleep and frightened,} they are thrust in front of the nests in the trees, thus awakening
^{try to fly out of the nest, while a net is held in front} and frightening the birds which, in trying to escape, are
^{while} caught in a net held by the Indian in front ^{before} of the opening.
^{they try to obtain} Hares are also hunted with a long net, ^{with which} The places where
they are suspected of hiding are enclosed in a net, ^{and} the hares
^{through beating upon the bushes they induce to flight, and} bushes are beaten and the escaping hares then shot. The
^{then try to shoot.} In the summer the Indians busy themselves
^{with the catching of innumerable grasshoppers, and certainly in an ingenious way.} device used by the Indians to hunt grasshoppers in the sum-
mer is very ingenious. A number of funnel-shaped holes are
^{There are namely any} dug in the ground, ^{of a funnel shape} from 3 to 4 feet in diameter at the top
and narrowing down to 1 1/2 feet, ^{at least perpendicularly still} after which they are pro-
^{a deeper and about a foot wide.} longed another foot in width and depth in a vertical direc-
tion. ^{The upper part is} The sides of the hole are carefully smoothed over at
the top, so that the insects ^{animals have no good} cannot obtain a foothold. When
these holes are - - - - -

^{taking part in the catch,}
ready each Indian takes a green branch and ^{he} slowly walks, as also all the others,
^{slowly in a wide circle}
around the hole ^{or the holes concerned} in a large circle, at the same time driving
or partly ^{they frighten} sweeping the insects ^{animals} in the direction of the
hole. ^{or partly which chase them} The closer they get to the holes, the ^{milder} more des-
^{the grass hoppers behave}perate are the antics of the bugs, and finally nothing p.166
remains ^{but to make the} but for them, ^{so} to leap at random, with the result
that they ^{then} fall into the ^{pit} ditch whence they cannot again
escape. ^{now the catchers are ready handful after handful to take} They are next lifted out in handfulls by one
^{out of the pit} person and thrown into a basket, while ^{some one} another person
^{takes care that the animals cannot get out again, which} keeps them covered with a broad leaf ^{no plant is easy} in order to prevent
their escaping. As soon as the ^{pits} ditches have been emp-
tied the baskets are brought to the camp or ^{some in the} village,
where the ^{animals} insects are killed with hot ashes or roasted
^{piece by piece,} individually by ^{pinching in} spearing them on a small stick and holding
^{pinched in by a small stick} them over the glowing embers, ^{until this is done.} In this way this destruc-
^{land plague} tive scourge becomes ^{a partial} a source of blessing for hungry
^{stomachs} souls. . . "

^{Lienhard}
"In June I went to Sutters Fort for a few days on p.167
business . . . but found ^{his} my friend (white man) glad to see
^{him} me return, as during ^{his} my absence some young Sisum-Indians
had taken liberties with him. I ~~promised to punish the~~
~~boys should they return.~~

^{There was}
slaughtered a small ox, in order to keep ourselves
supplied with food, and the meat was cut into long, thin
strips, for preservation, ^{several} the Minal-Indians helping us
^{They had a frame work of sticks over the fire in which to dry and smoke the meat.}
with the work. . . I ~~decided I would profit by the pre-~~ p.168
^{Lienhard wished to}
sence of the chief of the Minal-Indians and two of his
men, to ask them to help ~~us~~ carry an oak stump to the

fire, which request I indicated by means of signs. At first they pretended not to understand, but when I finally succeeded in ^{making himself understood} conveying my request, they showed considerable opposition. They said 'Na hänni dennin', which means 'The piece is too heavy', and declined to help; so I finally decided to show them that there was nothing wonderful in carrying off the block and took hold of one end in order to test its approximate weight, whereupon the Indians uttered their sound expressive of surprise and despair - 'hum, hum', which meant something like 'You had better let it be'. Provoked by this response, ~~he~~ ^{his} exerted all my strength and moved the stump to one side... I even succeeded with great difficulty in heaving it on to ~~my~~ ^{and took it to the desired place.} back, at which I cast a proud and haughty glance toward the Indians, who had become pale at ^{his} my prowess, whether from shame or admiration I ^{could} cannot say. They contemplated ~~me~~ ^{him} in great humility for a long time, as if rooted to the spot and then left ~~me~~ ^{him} to return to their home. This doubtless served, to ^{his} my profit, to give ~~me~~ ^{him} the reputation of being a wonderfully ^{strong} white man....

^{An Indian showed me once a field mouse with large cheek pouches}
~~"I once had occasion to witness the curious manner~~ p. 170
~~and short tail half the size of a rat. The Indians had~~
~~the Indians have of treating field mice. They bound the~~ ^{it}
~~animal (about half the size of a rat) by the hind legs with~~
~~a long thin rope and allowed it to run loose, retaining~~ ^{cord. The mouse was let out on an open, stump-covered place, but}
~~their hold of~~ ^{but} ~~the end of the rope. This so enraged the~~ ^{was held in the hand, it became}
~~little beast that it made a dash for the feet of one of~~ ^{curled itself at}

the Indians and began to scream aloud in excitement and rage. . .

"As ^{already several times} before mentioned, ^{there were in the neighborhood chiefly three} the chief Indian settlements p.173

in my neighborhood were, Sisum, Yuba and Minal, and the ^{of which}

inhabitants of the first two were ^{more} particularly thievish ^{than those of Minal.} in disposition. A day seldom passed without ^{that several of these} some Indians

^{did not} appearing at my ^{house} place, particularly ^{the} men, who usually ran ^{as our house door had no lock, so it was no} around quite naked. They used the opportunity to steal ^{rarely that I after going out on my return missed this or that...} whenever they could. ^{As the Indians had} Finally they began to leap across

the trench surrounding the garden, and ^{as I thought,} suspecting that ^{where they during the night something convenient} they came to spy around and look for suitable things to ^{for themselves could get} carry off at night,, I ^{considered it necessary} had to forbid their coming, even ^{this for the future.} going so far as to threaten them with a gun. p.174

"My friend ^{the Indian} Seie, whose brother was the chief, had ^{it was chiefly} often told me that the Sisums and Yubas ^{who meddled with stealing my products.} were the chief ^{thieves.} . . . On one occasion they profited by my sickness p.174-176 to indulge in uncontrolled stealing, so that stringent methods of punishment had to be used.

(1847) "This summer was a disastrous one for the Indians p.177

living on the Feather River, for ^{had a malady} many of them, especially

the women and children, ^{had carried away} succumbed to a prevailing epidem- ^{Several villages had lost nearly all women, I was assured in addition} ic. I subsequently heard that some villages had lost

nearly all their women and children. For a long time I could heard the sounds of mourning and death lamentation from a place About 400 feet distant from my house, and sometimes we saw men and women who were painted com- pletely black, which made them look horrible. I believe

"The younger brother of this chief Minal came one sick to my house. . . I gave him a place in the room, so called outside house where he could lie and I prepared him tea from sage, dill, Neenungel, Spanish pepper etc., so that he could sweat, gave him some bread to eat and had the pleasure, after several days of seeing him well. Soon after that came also Minal, the chief, sick to me and I cured him also, but much he was very thankful.

that this heavy mortality was the result of wrong treatment, for I myself once saw ^{how they} a sick child in high fever repeatedly submerged ^{by the whole body} in the ~~icy~~ water of the Yuba ^{River, in} ~~high~~ going from the melting of the snow, because it was thought it was very warm order to reduce its temperature. ^{and this cooling off would be a benefit and healing} I heard that the child died soon after.

Concerning the dwellings, there are two kinds of them, ~~The Indians have two types of houses, summer and winter dwellings.~~ ^{look not unlike} The latter resemble enormous molehills.

^{A part of this, about 3 feet} The house is sunk ^{thus hid in the earth} about 3 feet below the level of the ground, and several strong posts are put up in the middle of the ^{it} hut, ^{which} thus constituting the chief supports of the structure, upon which rests the ridge of the roof. ^{comes to rest} Strong but

flexible rods are fastened ^{into} the ground in a ^{according to the desired size of the house} diameter of from 12 to 30 feet, ^{and about the middle in so} ~~in such a way that the thinner piece leans against the~~ ^{broken} middle post, ^{and can be fastened there} to which is ^{possible} easily ^{by means} of creepers. When this framework of the roof, which

resembles ^{ing} that of an umbrella, is finished, ^{then across} these rods, which serve as ribs, ^{again in the whole extent of the roof} are covered on both sides with ^{lighter} thinner, pliable rods, ^{over and under these ribs (?)} which are intertwined and ^{always an upper with an under} bound together, until the ^{texture} roof forms a kind of network. ^{On} This is covered with a layer of well prepared ^{mud or} clay, which is carefully stamped, beaten, and smoothed over all the ^{ready texture} walls ^{and roof} and both sides, ^{inside as well as outside} woven material, on both sides of the roof and walls.

Sometimes a ^{smoke} hole ^{air hole} is left open at the top, and in ^{for the smoke & air} front there is ^{above the ground} an entrance, ^{namely} consisting of a hole from 2 to 3 feet ^{wide and high} in width and height. The house furnishings consist of a number of different kinds of baskets, some

of which are water-proof and are used^{as} to carry water vessels.
I often marveled at this basket work, which is also used^{made}
for ornamentation, and constitutes veritable works of
art.

"The hearth is in the middle of the dwelling and
consists of a hole in the ground or a small pile of
stones. ^{supplies the hearth and to the inner house walls are fixed over which} A few couches or beds adjoin the walls, covered
soft mats of marsh grass or rushes as under beds [mattresses] are laid.
with mattresses of rushes or reeds.

^{or} Summer dwellings consist mostly of Dula
"The summer houses are usually constructed of (rushes)
and ^{by rows} mats laid in layers over a framework, like those
^{houses laid,} used for the winter houses, although lighter, as they ^{as for the winter} because
do not support ^{no} a weight. These summer houses are placed ^{however}
happen to stand on, that is above the ground, therefore ^{but} not with
on the ground, instead of being partially buried. From seen from
the outside they ^{have the greatest resemblance} resemble haystacks, and there are often ^{p.179}
a number of smaller huts ^{house are often smaller,} around the chief one, similarly
built huts placed, which serve for the preservation of
in construction. These are used to preserve stores, such
as cereals, acorns, roots, etc.

"The acorn is for the Indian what wheat is for the
white man. ^{As the whites the wheat is looked up as the principal bread grain,} These acorns vary greatly in form and taste.
According to the species. ^{of the oak tree is also the fruit very different} The Indians prepare a kind of gruel
From the flour of the acorn, and
soup with the acorn flour, as well as various kinds of
cakes baked on stones, which The latter, however, do not seldom
taste very good, and still more seldom are without
siderable admixture of sand, which between the teeth most unpleasantly grates. As already several times
remarked, there is not wanting also
eat meat of various kinds, and fish and grasshoppers.
as They use various
Their vegetables feed consists of herbs, roots and grass
seeds. The root of the Eschholzia California is greatly
^{which has a resemblance with our potatoes,}

prized, and ~~resembles our potato~~. It ^{on stones} is roasted by being placed on the leaves of weeds, which ^{and} are laid on hot stones and covered with earth. The Indians are also fami-^{know} liar with garlic and bulbs resembling onions....

"Although California might at that time have been called a Paradise for hunters, the Indians were seldom good shots. There ^{never} was ~~no~~ lack of game of all kinds: The proud elk, ^{of the size of} ~~as large as~~ a mule; ^{was not here, the bucks of the same had majestic horns,} several species of stag and deer; ^{a number of} numerous antilopes, weighing as much as 300 ^{heavy} pounds; the grey bear; in the mountains ^{situated} toward Oregon, the Californian lion, ^{of} a particularly ^{size} large and ^{strength} powerful beast; various species of cats; the badger, the European hare and several kinds of rabbit; a species of small fox, ^{furnished} with long toes, similar to a child's hand, which can climb rapidly and ^{are} ~~is a~~ bad chicken ^{theirs} stealer; also raccoons, water rats, beavers, ^{and the already earlier many times mentioned} buffalos and wolves, as well as ^{a number} ~~innumerable~~ kinds of birds. ^{of ducks and geese.}

"I could only account for the Indians indifference ^{of the} 180 to the hunt by the fact that they ^{could} ~~so easily~~ obtain ^{enough} ~~an~~ ample supply of fish and fowl, ^{in a very easy way} for they did not despise ^{neither} the flesh of the stag, deer, elk, antelope nor bear; ^{meat} on but they ate, ^{no} the ~~contrary~~, they devoured ^{such} ~~it~~ in ^{incredible} extraordinary quantities whenever it was offered to them.

"As the Feather-River Indians had lost so many of their women through death, they had to think of ways and means ^{how they could again} ~~for replacing~~ this loss. ^{There was decreed by them} So they decided ^{to}

undertake a campaign against the Mountain-Indians, ^{whose men} ~~re-~~
~~they intended~~ ^{but} solving to kill the men, and carry off the women as chief
^{to bring home with them} booty. In order to have a pretext for ~~attack~~ ^{a war or to be able to pretend,} they de-
^{made use of the complaint} clared that the herdsmen of Cordua had stolen their
^{animals} cattle. To ensure victory, ^{for a long time beforehand} they repaired their bows and
^{were repaired} and lances, and indulged in physical training ^{arranged} for a long
^{Some} time beforehand. They took a coyote to represent the
^{Three principal calls were practiced as war whoop} enemy. They practised a warwhoop, consisting of three
^{and as with one throat suddenly uttered and indeed always} calls which were uttered simultaneously by all of them,
^{from the highest to the deepest tone.} ranging in octaves all the way up the scale, with an
^{when for the} effect as though proceeding from a single throat. The
^{The first time I heard these yells I happened to be working right} first time I heard these yells I happened to be working right
^{as I did not know what these cries might} in the garden, and not knowing the significance of the
^{mean} sounds I went up a hill from where ^{and saw} to my great surprise I saw
^{the} a number of naked Indians armed with bows, arrows and
^{Towards me} lances, hastening in my direction. Had I known nothing
^{at that time the taggot already wounded} of their projected campaign against the Mountain-Indians,
^{quickly} I would have taken to my heels, but ^{however} as it was I remained standing
^{see} under an oak tree, curious to discover what they were
^{This band of naked fellows} really wanted. ^{as running exercise} It appeared that they were merely pursuing a
^{about} wolf, as an exercise in running. . .

"The campaign was finally undertaken, ^{accompanied by several of} the Indians p. 181
^{the herdsmen belonging to Cordua and Pamel on horseback, all} taking with them some of the Cordua herdsmen, supplied
^{seems,} with lassos. However, the whole thing seems to have been
^{without success} turned out a failure, for they are said ^{not a single woman as booty} to have returned
^{to have brought home. Several} without a single woman. Some of the Minal-Indians told
^{against} me that they had approached the first ^{little} village of the
^{had advanced} Mountain-Indians in the evening, but had deferred their ^{not made}

the attack until the next morning, ^{and certainly without success,} as a result of which they failed in their attack, ^{because in the meantime} as the enemy had had time received to be informed ^{ation} of their ^{scheme} intention. Only one Mountain-Indian was killed ^{and indeed} by my friend Seie... After killing ^{whereupon the} him Seie cut off his head and removed the pelican bones, which ^(he was) were around the dead man's ^{robbed him of his} neck, hanging them around his own neck as a war trophy. ^{no one} None of the

Indians of the valley ^{was} were killed, but the booty also was inconsiderable."

Soon after this Lienhard returned to Sutters Fort, p.192 and next ^{was employed} undertook to act as overseer in connection with the building of a flour mill on the American River, and a sawmill about 50 miles further on. In addition to whites, Sutter employed many Mountain-Indians. He obtained them from various chiefs, who served him as ^{as} overseers. Sutter flattered the Indians by calling them 'Captain', and they received higher wages than the ordinary workmen, ^{who for} p.194

^{an ordinary cotton shirt or pair of breeches had to work two weeks.} ^{At one time the wool weavers and spinners at the} ^{as wool spinners and weavers for some time the Indians were employed.} Fort were all Indians; also the millers, bakers, ^{and} cooks and herdsmen. In addition there were about 30 younger ^{p.195}

Indians, who acted as drivers and ^{field} agricultural workers... p.196

Lienhard says: "The ^{way and} manner, ^{how at Sutter's Fort} of ^{was threatened} threshing wheat at ^{p.196} Sutters Fort was ^{again} new to me, although it ^{somewhat} resembled that method employed at 'Highland'; but instead of ^{sitting on a horse and} riding around in a circle ^{over the grain} on horseback and stamping out the grain, ^{here} a number of wild horses were ^{brought and} driven into a high

The way in which these Indian workers were fed, reminded me of the feeding of a lot of pigs. In a long trough they received cooked wheat, at which they squatted and with the right hand put the steaming grain to their mouth, making a noise not unlike a number of geese. They received also beef, which was very cheap.

^{some what distant from the grain stacks,}
 enclosure, in which ^{already a thick layer of} the wheat sheaves had been piled up on ^{said}
 the hard earth. A number of Indians provided with sticks
 had previously taken up their position on the ^{grain stacks or grain heaps} piles of
 wheat, and ^{around the outer circle several are likewise placed.} others stationed themselves on the outside of
 the circle. Then the wild animals, ^{were} incited and frightened p.197
 by ^{the likewise equally wild} loud yells from the Indians, ^{and} started a wild stampede,
^{so that they as if mad ran from them, till the grain from the}
^{making the grain fly in all directions.} Then the straw
^{straw was thrown out.}
 was removed and fresh sheaves laid down, whereupon the ^{wild chase}
 stampede started again. ^{afresh} Whenever the horses ^{at last} showed signs
 of exhaustion, ^{fresh} others were brought in. As elsewhere, ^{The cleaning of}
^{was done as everywhere} the grain was cleansed by the operation of windmills, ~~in~~
 the usual way."

About December 1847 Lienhard was commissioned by the p.201
 Government to substitute Sutter, who was the Government
 Indian Agent, in the work of counting the number of Indians
 in the various tribes. He says "The ^{By} result of this count I
^{myself by the way, must be} convinced ~~me~~ that the population had ^{come to} considerably de-
 creased, for I found several completely deserted communi-
 ties and in some villages or camping places I found ^{very many} quan-
^{lying} ~~tities~~ of human bones scattered on the ground." . .

(1848)

Some time after Lienhard bought a flock of sheep p.256
 from Sutter and went with them to the neighborhood of
 Calama, where gold was first discovered. The ^{gold diggers} Indians, p.256
 most of whom were ^{Indians} gold diggers, were glad to have him
 in that region, as they were always glad to buy sheep...
 Referring to various methods of killing sheep, he says:
 "At first I killed the animals by ^{means of the} cutting their throats,

but the Indians ^{did not wish} would not have this, and their method was ^{but had in fact a} much less bloody way of killing. ^{by the} indeed much more humane. Two men held the sheep's body and a third gave a quick twist ^{around} to its head, thereby breaking the spinal column ^{was broken} and causing ^{a more} instantaneous death. ^{caused}

¶ It was a pleasure to watch the Indians ^{when they feasted on} eating the roast mutton, and to watch the fat ^{dripped} oozing out of the corners of their mouths. ^{if an outer piece was cut, and the roasted part eaten,} When eating, they replaced on the fire portions which were ^{the} not fully roasted. ^{pieces} I was ^{the most interesting to me} particularly interested to see them eat the skin, which, ^{it seemed to me,} they ^{must be} appeared to consider a kind of delicacy. The skin with p. 357

the attached wool was laid on the glowing coals, from which ^{naturally spread a wonderful fragrance} arose a delicious odor. In a short time the

entire skin had shrivelled up to a uniform mass, which ^{then} the Indians ate with gusto. The guts were also eaten, ^{during which} they employed even their toes for holding the same. . . . the Indians holding these with their toes, as well as hands.

"On ^{There came} one occasion some young Indian men from the p. 258 neighboring village came to our camp [Calama] and began ^{I heard} how one of them made hastily, as it seemed to me, a mysterious communication to speak violently with my Indian servant, ^{to my} Könnöck. ^{The words were spoken} in the dialect, so that I only something like dead in a kill could understand. . . . Upon ^{my} questioning him, ^{to Könnöck} he said to me, 'Yes, they say that

the white men, who are washing gold up there in the river, have killed my uncle and another Indian, and ^{cut off} taken their scalps ^{and taken them} away with them.' . . . ¶ The murdered chief ^{with} and his p. 359

brother had been with us the preceding day, and ^{we} had ^{entertained them} received our hospitality. . . . Upon recounting these happenings to my partner, ^{He} Dürr, he ^{arrived at last, just as the twilight stopped. . .} said: 'These Indians ^{thought} here are good natured, stupid people. If they were like

the Indians ^{Rocky} then it would be all over with us
 those up in the mountains, this would be the end of us. They
 would merely say: that the whites had killed some of ^{our} their
 people, and that they in return must kill some of the whites,
^{therefore we} ^{also} without stopping to find out the truth of the matter. ^{they would not long ask whether we were guilty or innocent.} As
^{"We put our weapons in readiness, . . ."} a precaution we kept our weapons loaded all night, but were
 not molested. ^{it began to get dark, from afar} Hardly had night fallen when the sound to
 which I was familiar from my garden in Minal commenced,
 and the Indians approached in a torch-light procession. We
 could not see whether they bore the bodies of the dead with
 them, but we told Könnöck to join the mourning party and
 do honor to his dead relative. . . I told him to say how
 angry I was at the deeds of the whites, and that I regret-
 ted the death of their chief, but added that if vengeance
 were taken on us we should protect ourselves in every way.
 Könnöck, however, thought that we should not be molested....
 Some of the other Indians also wanted to join the procession,
 but were dissuaded by one of them who warned them not to go,
 as the men were excited and would not allow any but their own
 tribesmen to be present at the cremation. He said they might
 be tempted to take vengeance on any intruder and that he,
 although a Sacramento-Indian, would not venture to go, know-
 ing how his own people would feel in a similar situation.

"A fire was lighted in the distance, around which gath-
 ered the brown forms, who began individually to utter sounds
 of mourning. Others gradually joined in, until all were
 finally contributing to the inharmonious singing, weeping
 and howling, which they accompanied by - - - - -"

wild gesticulations. Gradually the noise became softer and nearly subsided. Only occasional sounds were yet heard and the movements too ceased almost entirely. p.261

It was as if the people had to rest after the strenuous work, in order that they might start again later with renewed vigor. And so it proved to be, for all night long this intermittent yelling continued, first rising to the height of uncanniness and then subsiding into complete silence. When the wind blew the smoke our way it brought an odor of burnt flesh, which increased the gruesomeness. . . .

After breakfast next morning I went down and saw the brother of the dead chief, huddled beside a ^{small} mound resembling a large molehill. He was terribly tired and sleepy, ^{now and then sobbed} but from time to time a sob escaped him. ^{when he finally saw me, his eye looked very angry.} He looked very angry at sight of me, but accepted my words of regret. . . . ^{little earth} The grave mound containing p.262

the ashes of the dead man was about two feet wide and was smoothly rounded off, with a bowl-like depression at the head wherein had been carefully laid some beads made of pelican bones. . . .

"Later, upon riding to the Indian village where the murdered man had lived, I found the whole place deserted. p.263 But on going on a little way I met a number of Indian women, who all fled from me, until told by some of their men that I was not bad. . . . My partner returned soon after with the news that there was great excitement in Coloma, and bitter feeling against the Indians; that all the

forty whites of that place were planning a campaign of vengeance for the following day and intended to kill all the Indians they met. . . We were told that the fact that we had Indian servants might furnish an excuse to the avengers to help themselves to our animals. *As motive for this murder expedition, the report was given out that* The alleged reason for their attack on the Indians was that five whites had been killed by Indians; but I doubted the truth of this. *for my part I thought that the five murderers of the Chief and his company spread this report, to justify their own act thereby.*

But a following morning "Early the next morning, acting upon advice, I moved my sheep to another part and also warned all the Indians of the threatening danger, advising them not to remain. However, either they failed to understand my warnings, or were too indifferent, as a result of which a number of whites came the following morning and murdered nearly all the Indians who had neglected my warning of the previous day. . ."

p.264

In honor of Miss Eliza Sutter, the foundations of a city, called Eliza City, were laid four miles above Heack Farm, on the left bank of the Feather River, where the river takes a big bend. This is the place formerly inhabited by the Sisum-Indians.

p.295

Early in 1850 Lienhard received a visit from his former Indian friend Seye or Syey, and offered him some Dutch cheese, telling him that it was made of the milk of cows. That sufficed to repel him, for the Indians have a great repugnance for cow's milk.

p.306

p.307

(Heinrich Lienhard, 'Californien unmittelbar vor und nach der Entdeckung des Goldes.' 318 pp. Zurich, 1900) 1898

WILLIAM
BOND

Charles

Jeff

WILLIAM
BOND

INDIANS OF AMERICAN & FEATHER RIVERS, CALIF.

From Californien by Heinrich Lienhard, Zurich, 1898.

Heinrich Lienhard came to America in 1844, and in April 1846 started overland to California, where he remained until July 1850. From 1847-8 he was employed by Sutter as overseer of his truck farm at Minal, about 2 miles from Hock Farm on Feather River, and of the building of his flour mill on American River and of the saw mill where gold was discovered. After this Lienhard went to the mines. Lienhard kept a journal and in 1870 wrote out very fully his experiences in America, an abstract of which was published in Zurich in 1898. In this Lienhard's observations on the Indians of American and Feather rivers are given as follows:

When Sutter first settled in Sacramento Valley, Lienhard [124] writes " the Government furnished him with food supplies, as well as with trinkets, articles of clothing, etc. for the Indians, in order to tempt them to settle down in the colony The Sacramento Indians were the first to approach the [125] colony, but they merely surveyed the new arrivals from a respectful distance, refusing to understand the signs of invitation. In order to gain the confidence of the Indians, all sorts of gaily colored trifles were spread out and signs made that these costly splendors were meant for them. In this way a few were enticed into the camp where they were shown nothing but kindness and the next ^{time} night a great number appeared. After sufficient confidence had been gained, it was easy to put a price on the gifts and to exchange them for work. and so accustom the Indians to work.

"The Sacramento-Indians, who lived on the site of the present city of Sacramento, and the Busheny-Indians, who inhabited the region at the junction of the Sacramento and the American Fork, on the right shore of the latter river, were said to be deadly enemies and had always lived in feud with each other. Only the river offered both tribes some protection from their mutual attacks. Their languages also were very different. This enmity may have been the reason that for a whole year no Busheny Indians came to the settlement -- partly from fear of their new neighbor and partly for antipathy for the other Indians whom they might meet in the settlement."

[125]

In the spring of 1847 Lienhard went to take charge of a truck farm at a place called Minal on Feather River 2 miles above "Haek-farm". He started from Sutter's tannery on the American Fork, taking with him some Indians whom Sutter had working for him at that place. They took plentiful supplies, the Indians in particular taking great bales of smoked fish eggs and smoked ducks. Lienhard writes:

"We put off from the shore and soon reached the small Bushny village, where the Indians wanted to remain overnight . . .

[156]

It was not until late the next morning that it pleased the lazy Bushunes to return and we proceeded on the way to Haek farm . . .

[157]

A short distance above the mouth of the American Fork [before reaching the farm of Nicolaus Algier[✓]] is the site of a place where formerly numerous Indians lived, but who were wiped out by an

✓ Site of present town of Nicolaus

epidemic. . . .

"The spring of 1847 was mild and favorable . . . soon after [162]
my arrival in Minal the Indians began to come every day in great
numbers to our house from the neighboring communities of Sidune,
Yuba, and Minal. We employed some of them in helping us dig a [163]
trench round the garden, and they proved quite good workers.

"On Sundays there were always a number of these bronze com-
plexioned gentlemen about the house, lured partly from curiosity
and partly from the desire to exchange ^{for} some old, worn-out piece
of clothing , the skin of a small fox or wild cat filled with
excellent arrows and a bow. . These arrows were all provided with
flint tips"

"The Indians of California, at least those of the region of the
Sacramento and Feather rivers, are usually of a fine build, and
many of them are slender and well-proportioned. Their mouths are
broad and full-lipped, and their hair is coarse and black, fre-
quently falling in locks. The men usually wear a very black moustache
and goatee, which appears to grow this way naturally. The arm
muscles are rarely much developed, probably owing to the fact
that these men perform very little heavy work. Their toes point
inwards, as is the case with all Indians, while those of the white
race turn more outward. They let their wives perform the hardest
tasks; the latter have to prepare the acorn flour, which they do
by pounding the acorns with heavy stones. They also gather the

roots and grass, and carry the loads in large, usually water- [163]
proof, funnel-shaped baskets, which they carry on their backs
by means of a strap passed over the head. Meanwhile their lords
and masters stride on ahead, majestic and proud, carrying nothing
but their bow and arrows. The men do the fishing and make [164]
good catches, particularly at the season when many thousand
salmon come up the river to spawn. At such times the fish is
easily caught in great numbers, and is smoked and preserved for
a long time. The roe is dried in the same way and smoked and
preserved as a delicacy. The Indians also hunt birds -- ducks,
geese and other water fowl . . .

"In every village may be seen stuffed birds, as ornaments,
and these are sometimes used as decoys to catch the many thou-
sand migratory birds that pass by in the autumn and spring.
The Indians hide among the bushes surrounding the sloughs in
this marshy region. They construct rafts of rushes and reeds,
which they cover with dried grass, and this in turn is covered
with earth, thus constituting small, floating islands, which
they strew with seed to tempt the ducks and geese. They also
place on these islands a few of the stuffed ducks and geese
in natural positions, and toward the background they attach a
bow of the same length and width as the artificial island, to
which is attached a net. When this bow is open, it is approx-
imately at right angles to the surface of the ground; a rope
is attached to the top of it, which is held by the Indian

hidden in the bushes.

"When the swarms of ducks and geese come flying in the direction of the island, as happens continually, the Indian exactly imitates the notes of these birds, and the sound attracts the hungry migrants to the repast prepared for them. At the psychological moment, the hidden man, with a strong pull, draws down the bow over the chattering birds. They cannot escape and are taken out one by one [165] and killed. If the catch is so great that the birds are not eaten, the remainder are smoked and preserved. The Indians use the feathers to make large warm covers, which they use in the cold damp weather. While I was with them, these covers appeared to constitute the only article of clothing of both men and women, for besides these the latter wore only a number of fringes round their waists, about 1-1/2 feet in length, one end of which hung down in front and the other behind, leaving the loins almost uncovered.

"The women knit nets which are used for catching small fish and small birds. Woodpeckers, of which there are many in California, are caught with the help of torches. These are thrust in front of the nests in the trees, thus awakening and frightening the birds which, in trying to escape, are caught in a net held by the Indian in front of the opening. Hares are also hunted with a long net. The places where they are suspected of hiding are enclosed in a net, the bushes are beaten and the escaping hares then shot.

The device used by the Indians to hunt grasshoppers in the summer is very ingenious. A number of funnel-shaped holes are dug in the ground, from 3 to 4 feet in diameter at the top and narrowing down to 1-1/2 feet, after which they are prolonged another foot in width and depth in a vertical direction. The sides of the hole are carefully smoothed over at the top, so that the insects cannot obtain a foothold. When these holes are ready, each Indian takes a green branch and slowly walks around a hole in a large circle, at the same time driving or partly sweeping the insects in the direction of the hole. The closer they get to the holes, the more desperate are the antics of the insects, and finally nothing remains but for them to leap at random, with the result that they fall into the ditch whence they cannot again escape. They are then lifted out in handfuls by the hunters and thrown into a basket, while some one keeps them covered with a broad leaf in order to prevent their escaping. As soon as the ditches have been emptied the baskets are brought to the camp or home to the village, where the insects are killed with hot ashes or roasted one by one by spearing them on a small stick and holding them over the glowing embers. . . .

[165]

[166]

In June Lienhard went to Sutters Fort for a few days and writes that on his return he found "some young Sisum-Indians" had been taking liberties with the man left in charge of the farm.

[167]

"We slaughtered a small ox, in order to keep ourselves supplied with food, and the meat was cut into long, thin strips for preservation, the Minal-Indians helping us with the work . . . [167]
I decided I would profit by the presence of the chief of the Minal-Indians and two of his men, to ask them to help us carry an oak stump to the fire, which request I indicated by means of signs. At first they pretended not to understand, but when I finally succeeded in conveying my request, they showed considerable opposition. They said, 'Na hänni dernin', which means 'The piece is too heavy', and declined to help . . . [168]

"Once an Indian showed me a field mouse about half the size of a rat, with large cheek pouches and a short tail. The Indians bound the animal by the hind legs to a long thin rope and allowed it to run loose in a sod-covered space, retaining their hold of the rope. This so enraged the little creature that it made a dash for the feet of one of the Indians and began to scream aloud in excitement and rage . . . [170]

"As I have before mentioned, there were three Indian settlements in my neighborhood -- Sisum, Yuba, and Minal, and the inhabitants of the first two were more thievish than those from Minal . . . [173]
My friend Seie, whose brother was the chief, had often told me that the Sisums and Yubas were the chief thieves . . .

"This summer [1847] was a disastrous one for the Indians living on Feather River, for many of them, especially the women and children, succumbed to a prevailing epidemic. I subsequently

heard that some villages had lost nearly all their women and children. For a long time I could hear the sounds of mourning and death lamentation from a place about 400 feet distant from my house, and sometimes we saw men and women who were painted completely black, which made them look horribly. I believe that this heavy mortality was the result of wrong treatment, for I myself once saw a sick child in high fever repeatedly submerged in the icy water of the Yuba, in order to reduce its temperature. I heard that the child died soon after . . .

"The Indians have two types of houses -- summer and winter dwellings. The latter resemble enormous molehills. They are dug out 3 feet below the level of the ground and several strong posts are put up in the middle, which constitute the chief supports of the structure upon which rests the ridge of the roof. [178] In a diameter of from 12 to 20 feet, according to the desired size of the house, strong flexible poles are fastened or stuck into the ground and split in the middle in such a way that the inner piece leans against the middle post, to which it can easily be attached by means of creepers. When this framework of the roof, which resembles that of an umbrella is finished, over the whole circumference of the roof, thinner and more pliable poles are interwoven with these poles which serve as ribs, and are bound together until the roof forms a kind of network. This is covered with a layer of well-prepared clay, which is carefully stamped, beaten, tread, and smoothed over all the woven material on both inside and outside of roof and walls. Sometimes a hole

for smoke or air is left open at the top, and in front above [178]
ground there is an entrance, consisting of a hole from 2 to 3
feet in diameter and height -- and the palace is ready.

"The house furnishings consist of a number of different kinds
of baskets, some of which are water-proof and are used to carry
water. I often marveled at this basket work, which was also
used for ornamentation, and is indeed a veritable work of art.

"The hearth is in the middle of the dwelling and consists of
a hole in the ground or a small pile of stones. A few couches or
beds are put against the walls and covered with mattresses of
rushes or reeds.

"The summer houses are usually constructed of rushes and rush
mats laid down in layers over a framework, like those used for
winter houses, but lighter because no weight comes upon them,
as does in the winter houses. These summer houses are placed
above ground, that is on a level with the surface. From the
outside they resemble hay or straw stacks.

"There are often a number of smaller huts around the chief [179]
one, similar in construction. These are used to preserve stores
such as grains, acorns, roots, etc.

"The acorn, the fruit of the oak tree, is the Indian's chief
bread supply, as wheat is that of the white man. These acorns
vary greatly in form and taste, according to the species. The
Indians prepare a kind of soup with the acorn flour, as well as
various kinds of cakes baked on stones. The latter, however,

do not taste very good, especially as they often contain a considerable admixture of sand. As above stated, they also eat meat of various kinds, and fish and grasshoppers. Their vegetable food consists of herbs, roots and grass seeds. The root of the Eschholzia California is greatly prized, and resembles our potato. It is roasted by being placed on the leaves of weeds, which are laid on hot stones and covered with earth. The Indians are also familiar with garlic and bulbs resembling onions . . .

"Although California might at that time have been called a Paradise for hunters, the Indians were seldom good shots. There was no lack of game of all kinds . . .

"I could only account for the Indians' indifference to the [180] hunt by the fact that they so easily obtain an ample supply of fish and fowl; for they did not despise the flesh of the stag, deer, elk, antelope, or bear; on the contrary, they devoured it in extraordinary quantities whenever it was offered to them.

"As the Feather River Indians had lost so many of their women through death, they had to think of ways and means for replacing this loss. So they decided to undertake a campaign against the Mountain-Indians, resolving to kill the men and carry off the women as chief booty. In order to have a motive or pretext for an attack they declared that the herdsmen of Cordua had stolen their cattle. To ensure victory they repaired their bows and arrows and lances and engaged in

physical training for a long time beforehand. They took a coyote to represent the enemy. They practised a warwhoop, consisting of three calls which were uttered simultaneously by them all, always in octaves from the highest to the lowest note, with an effect as though proceeding from a single throat. The first time I ever heard these yells I happened to be working in the garden, and not knowing the significance of the sounds I went up a hill, from where I saw to my surprise a number of naked Indians armed with bows, arrows, and lances, hastening in my direction. . . Had I known nothing of their projected campaign against the Mountain-Indians I would have taken to my heels, but as it was I remained under an oak tree, curious to discover what they were about. It appeared that they were merely pursuing a wolf, as an exercise in running . . .

[180]

"The campaign was finally undertaken, the Indians taking with them some of the Cordua herdsmen, supplied with lassos. However, the whole affair seems to have turned out a failure, for they are said to have returned without a single woman. Some of the Minal-Indians told me that they had approached the first village of the Mountain-Indians in the evening, but had deferred their attack until the next morning, as a result of which they failed in their attack, as the enemy had had time to be informed of their intention. Only one Mountain-Indian was killed, and he by my friend Seie, who told me that he [the enemy] was about to kill him [Seie], when with great

[181]

swiftness he shot at him, but Seie evaded the arrow which would [181]
have hit him in the eye, and sent an arrow into his body, where-
upon the wounded man uttered a loud shriek and fell backward.
Seie then cut off his head, and removed the pelican bones from
the dead man's neck, hanging them around his own neck as a war
trophy. None of the Valley Indians were killed, and the booty
also was inconsiderable, viewed from the matrimonial plans
which had occasioned the campaign."

In the fall of 1847 Lienhard returned to Sutters Fort and
was then employed by Sutter as overseer of the building of a
flour mill on the American river, and the sawmill some 50
miles farther on. In addition to whites, Lienhard writes that
Sutter employed many Mountain-Indians, whom he obtained from [193]
various chief who served him as overseers. These Sutter
flattered by calling them 'Captain' and they received higher
wages than the ordinary workman, who had to work a couple of
weeks for a pair of cotton stockings or a cotton shirt or the
material for the same. At one time the wool weavers and
spinners at the Fort were all Indians; also the millers,
bakers, cooks and herdsmen. In addition there were about 30
Indians who acted as drivers and agricultural workers.

About December 1847 Lienhard was commissioned by the
Government to substitute for Sutter, who was the Government
Indian Agent, in the work of counting the number of Indians
of the various tribes. He says, "The result of this count [201]

✓
[Site of present Coloma]

convinced me that the population had considerably decreased, [201]
for I found several completely deserted communities, and in
some villages or camping places I found quantities of human
bones scattered on the ground . . . "

After the discovery of gold, Lienhard went to the region
about Coloma. At one time he took with him a flock of sheep
and says that "the Indians, most of whom were gold diggers, [256]
were glad to have him in that region, as they were always
glad to buy sheep". Referring to the Indian method of
killing sheep, Lienhard writes, "At first I killed the animals
by cutting their throats, but the Indians would not have this,
and their method was indeed much less bloody. Two men held
the body of the sheep, and a third gave a quick twist to its
head, thereby breaking the spinal column and causing instan-
taneous death . . . "

"When eating [mutton] they replaced on the fire portions
which were not fully roasted. I was particularly interested
to see them eat the skin which they appeared to consider a
kind of delicacy. The skin with the attached wool was laid [257]
on the glowing coals, from which arose a delicious odor. In
a short time the entire skin had shrivelled up to a uniform
mass which the Indians ate with gusto. The guts were also
eaten, the Indians holding them with their toes, as well as
hands."

Lienhard describes the funeral obsequies of two Indians who were killed by miners up the river from his camp at Coloma, one of the victims being a chief and the uncle of Lienhard's Indian servant Könnöck. He writes:

"Hardly had night fallen when the sounds to which I was familiar from my garden in Minal were heard from afar, and the Indians approached in a torch-light procession. It was too dark to distinguish whether they bore the bodies of the dead with them. My Könnöck wanted to join the mourning party and to offer the last honors to his uncle. I told him to say to his relatives and friends that I was very angry at the deeds of the white men, and that I regretted the death of their chief, but added that if vengeance were taken on us, we should protect ourselves in every way. Könnöck, however, thought that we should not be molested . . . [260]

"When Könnöck had gone, the Mogriner Indians who always went with Durr and his landwoman Mary also wanted to go, but my Indian Aboga dissuaded them saying, 'The people are now excited and wild. If a man outside the tribe appears at the cremation it would not be strange if the relatives should be enraged at such a person. I myself am an Indian from this country, only from Sacramento, yet I do not dare to go, for I know how our people have acted under similar conditions. The people are now stirred up over everything.

" A fire was lighted in the distance, which soon burned

brightly and was surrounded by dark forms who began individually [260] to utter mourning sounds, others gradually joined in until at length all were contributing to the inharmonious singing, weeping, and howling, which they accompanied by wild gesticulations, and which my dog answered with his howl, which gave me the creeps. Gradually the noise became lower and nearly subsided. Only occasional sounds were still heard and the movements about the [261] fire were much quieter. It was as if they had to rest after their strenuous work, in order that they might start again later with renewed vigor. This was indeed so, for gradually, little by little, the same earsplitting shrieking and howling began again, mounting to the highest conceivable point, then sinking from this uncanny peak to a horrible deadly stillness. This went on the whole night long, and not until morning did all become quiet, when only at intervals a sound could be heard, which in a mild tone of weeping seemed to give expression to sorrow. When the wind blew the smoke our way it brought an odor of burnt flesh. . .

"When the sun rose no one could be seen at the burial place, but we could still hear a trace of weak mourning tones, like those of a sick person. After breakfast I went down and found the brother of the dead chief, huddled beside a mound which resembled a large molehill. He was very sleepy and weary so that at first he did not sense my presence, and from time to time a sob escaped him.....

"The grave mound . . . was about 2 feet wide and was smoothly rounded off, with a bowl-like depression at the head in which beads made of pelican bones had been carefully laid."

In the afternoon Lienhard rode to the village where the [262]
murdered man had lived, but found it deserted.

Lienhard states that the site where Eliza City was founded, [295]
on Feather River about 4 miles above Haeck Farm, where the
river takes a big bend was the site of the former settlement
of the Sisum Indians.

Californien -- Bilder aus dem Leben des Heinrich Lienhard,
pp. 124-5, 156, 162-8, 170, 173, 177-181, 193, 201, 256,
257, 260-2, 295, Zurich, 1898.

Translated 1923.

[from Miss Rosena A. Giles - August 1930.]
" of Anderson, Calif.

"High up on Stoney Creek near the
foot of the high mountains, there
was a rancharia called Wy-a-muck
another, No-a-muck, still another,
Pwe-a-muck."

(Pwe-a muck.
No-a-muck
Wy-a-muck)

Dear Alice:

This is all I can find regarding
Indian Rancharias on Stoney Creek.
I suggest that you ask my brother
John Giles, about Mirrorville
& the ^{of chiefs} rancharias. He may
remember something about
it as we used to live
there. I would ask him but you
can, probably, see him before
I shall.

Sorry not to give more
information on the subject.

Love

Anderson Calif

1261 EAST STREET

Redding California,

August 18 1930

Dr C. Hart Merriam

Lagunitas, Calif.

Dear Dr, Merriam

Ackd. Aug 23, 1930

The old town of Monroeville was on the west bank of the Sacramento River about 40 miles above Colusa. I could not find out anything about Chino.

Major Pierson B. Reading's ranch Buena Ventura was 102 miles from Colusa.

I beleive you may ^{get} more definite information from the Chamber of Commerce in Colusa.

I enclose a letter from Miss Rosena A Giles the authoress
authoress who has made some study of Indians.

If I get any more information will send it to you.

Very truly,

Alice M. Reading

Alice M. Reading.

SLAUGHTER OF INDIANS AT READING'S RANCH

Harry L. Wells in his History of California from 1513 to 1850 (published in Gilbert, Wells and Chambers, History of Butte County, 1882), in describing Fremont's part in the Bear Flag Revolution gives an account of the attack of Fremont's surveying party on the Indians of Reading's ranch in April, 1846.

Wells writes that Fremont and his party "arrived [57] at the trading fort of Peter Lassen, on Deer creek, near the north line of California, on the 30th of March, 1846, remaining there and in the vicinity until the 14th of April. During his sojourn at Lassen's, a report was circulated that a number of Indians had congregated at a point, since known as Reading's Ranch, with intent to open hostilities against the few settlers scattered through the northern country. The surveying party, joined by 5 volunteers from the trading post, marched against them, and a slaughter took place of the natives in their rancheria, of not only the braves, but their squaws and little ones, a few only escaping by swimming the river. Let us believe, that we may not blush for our race, that only the Indians accompanying Fremont participated in the slaughter of women and children, and we may rest assured that it was not authorized by the officer in command."

Harry L. Wells, Gilbert, Wells & Chambers, History of Butte County, California, p. 57, 1882.

MAJOR P. B. READING

Gilbert, Wells & Chambers, History
of Butte County, Calif. (1882) has
material concerning Major P.B.

Reading on pp. 110, 122-23.

Portrait, opposite p. 152.

MAJOR P. B. READING

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of Butte County, Calif. (1882) has
material concerning Major P.B.

Reading on pp. 110, 122-23.

Portrait, opposite p. 152.

From Bleeker
1847 Major Pearson B. Reading
head of party of trappers, settled
in Shasta Co.

1845 Reading left Lutter's Fort
with 30 men + 100 pack horses
for trapping in northern Calif
+ Oregon.

May 1845 descend + named
Trinity River (Bleeker 127).

June 1849 descend Gold on
Trinity + spread news which
led to Gold Rush to region

Opinion became general that
Trinity River emptied into Trinidad Bay
(127)

Reading, Major P.B.

Grant located about 25
miles above Red Bluffs

Hatchings, Calif. Mag. I, 496,
1857.

First Reading on Com. A. Ibid
I, 541, 1857.

Anderson [Calif.] News
Feb. 2, 1923.

Offers "Mt. Reading" As Name of One of Six Peaks To Be Named

Editor of Anderson Valley News:

I wish to suggest that name of READING as a name for one of the mountain peaks that surround Mt. Lassen.

Major P. B. READING was the most outstanding character of any of the pioneers of the extreme upper end of the Sacramento Valley.

He came to Shasta county in 1843 and followed mining for three years. He employed Indians who, with their baskets, washed out the gold. His income for four weeks reached as high as \$80,000.

In 1846 Major Reading obtained a large Spanish Grant of 26,000 acres from the Mexican government, known as the Rancho Buena Ventura (Good Venture). This Grant is the heart of the Anderson Valley extending along the Sacramento River from Cottonwood to Redding.

General Bidwell and Peter Lassen passed through this district in the early forties in pursuit of horse thieves and were much impressed by the richness of the country but had already located further down the Valley. It was Major Reading who was the real pioneer of our county and this section of the Sacramento Valley.

He was a commanding figure in those early days of gold mining, Indian fighting and stock raising. His name is indelibly linked with this part of the rich, warm Valley that lies at the very foot of Mt. Lassen, and no more fitting tribute could be given him by this community, the state and the nation than to name one of the mountain peaks that overlook this splendid valley MT. READING.

Very truly yours,
L. W. NELSON.

Anderson [Calif.] News
Feb. 16, 1923.

Editor Valley News—

I read Mr. Nelson's letter in a recent issue of your paper with much interest, and think that all will agree that "Reading" would be a most fitting name for one of those six peaks that are to be named, for Major Reading was certainly one of the leading figures that helped to make history around here in early days.

Not many know, perhaps, that Major Reading's adobe house, "The Old 'Doby,'" as we used to call it, was formerly a stopping place, "Inn or Tavern" as they were called in those days, when the road that came up the valley crossed Cottonwood near its mouth, by the 'Doby House, then across the river at Balls Ferry (it was then owned by Major Reading) on up through the hills past the Schuler place which was another early day hostelry, and on through to the Oregon line.

Major Reading first established the ferry on the river, but the settlement that sprung up later was named for my father, the late W. W. Ball, who bought the property of him about 1865 or 1866.

A few years later, the post office at Battle Creek, which was on the stage route between Red Bluff and Millville, was moved from Battle Creek to Balls Ferry, and the place was officially named "Balls Ferry," in honor of its first post master.

I have digressed quite a bit, though, from what I started out to say, which is, why not call one of those peaks "Fremont Peak," for General Fremont who, I am told, was the first

to blaze the road over the summit by Lassen Peak and down through Manzanita chute, and on down into the valley. He and his soldiers fought with the Indians on Bloody Island and along Battle Creek from which these places gained their names.

We school children used to hold in great reverence a scarred oak tree, burned hollow, which grew on what was then known as the Major Sheldon place, but now owned by D. L. Gover, for we were told that the tree was burned by General Fremont's camp fire, on one of their chases

MAJOR READING'S MINING EXPEDITION TO TRINITY RIVER

Harry L. Wells in a chapter on the Discovery of Gold in California, published in Gilbert, Wells and Chambers, History of Butte County, California, 1882, gives the following account of Major Reading's expeditions to the gold mines of Trinity River, obtained from Major Reading in 1858:

"In 1858, Maj. Pearson B. Reading, the old trapper and [122] pioneer Californian, gave the following account of the first mining in northern California. At the time he named it, Trinity river was not an unknown stream to the trappers of the Hudson Bay Company, who were familiar with every stream of consequence in this portion of the state; that they had ever given it a name, however, is uncertain; if so, it is unknown to history:--

'In the spring of 1845, I left Sutter's fort for the purpose of trapping the waters of upper California and Oregon. My party consisted of thirty men, with one hundred head of horses. In the month of May, I crossed the mountains from the Sacramento river, near a point now called the Backbone; in about 20 miles' travel reached the banks of a large stream, which I called the Trinity, supposing it led into Trinity bay, as marked on the old Spanish charts. I remained on the river about three weeks, engaged in trapping beaver and otter; found the Indians very numerous, but friendly-disposed. On leaving the Trinity I crossed the mountains at a point which

led me to the Sacramento river, about ten miles below the [122]
soda springs. I then passed into the Shasta and Klamath
settlements, prosecuting my hunt. Having been successful,
returned in the fall to Sutter's fort.

'In the month of July, 1848, I crossed the mountains of [123]
the Coast Range, at the head of middle Cottonwood creek;
struck the Trinity at what is now called Reading's bar; pros-
pected for two days, and found the bars rich in gold; re-
turned to my house on Cottonwood, and in ten days fitted out
an expedition for mining purposes; crossed the mountains
where the trail passed about two years since from Shasta to
Weaver.

'My party consisted of three white men, one Delaware, one
Walla Walla, one Chinook and about 60 Indians from the Sacra-
mento valley. With this force I worked the bar bearing my
name. I had with me 120 head of cattle, with an abundant sup-
ply of other provisions. After about 6 weeks' work, parties
came in from Oregon, who at once protested against my Indian
labor. I then left the stream and returned to my home, where
I have since remained, in the enjoyment of the tranquil life
of a farmer.'

Oregonians could not have disturbed him in 1848, as news of
the gold discovery did not reach Oregon until September of that
year, and Mr. Reading has, perhaps, placed his mining expedi-
tion one year too early, and should have said in 1849, or else
he went back again the next year--something that his language
implies, though it does not positively state, he did not do.

At all events, he did go to Trinity river in the summer of [123] 1849, for a report of his trip was given by the Placer Times, of Sacramento, in August of that year. In June, 1849, Major Reading started from his ranch with a small party for the purpose of exploring this stream. They went up Clear creek and then crossed the mountains to the river, going up the stream some distance and finding gold in abundance. About the first of August they returned to the Sacramento valley and reported that they had made \$40 per day to the man, for the few days they had worked. They also laid considerable stress on the fact that, in crossing the summit, they had camped one night above the snow line.

The error made by Major Reading, in supposing that the river he had named Trinity flowed into the old Trinidad bay of the Spanish explorers, was communicated to others, and became the general opinion. It was then conceived that the best route to the mines must be to go to Trinidad bay in a vessel and thence up the river to the mines. . . ."

Harry L. Wells in Gilbert, Wells & Chambers, History of Butte County, California, pp. 122-123, 1882.

XXIV REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF FISH AND FISHERIES.

~~that promised to answer best the purposes of his mission. Quarter-~~
~~master-General Meigs had supplied him with letters of recommendation~~
~~to the officers of his department in the West; but, to his regret, Mr.~~
~~Stone found no military post sufficiently near to render him any par-~~
~~ticular assistance during the present season.~~

After much fruitless inquiry, Mr. Stone at last learned, chiefly through Mr. B. B. Redding, fish-commissioner of California, and through the chief engineer of the Central Pacific Railroad, that the Indians speared salmon on the McCloud River, a stream of the Sierra Nevada, emptying into Pitt River three hundred and twenty miles nearly due north of San Francisco. Proceeding to this station, in company with Mr. John G. Woodbury, of the Acclimatization Society, Mr. Stone immediately set to work in erecting the necessary hatching-establishment, although, on account of the distance from any settlement and the absence of special facilities, he found the undertaking both difficult and expensive. The efforts of Mr. Stone and his party were prosecuted unintermittingly, day and night, for a sufficient length of time to prove that the season had almost entirely passed, and that but few spawning fish remained. Many thousands of spawn were secured, however, and placed in hatching-troughs; but the extraordinary heat of the season, rising day after day to 110° and 112° in the shade, finally accomplished the destruction of the greater portion.

Redding

648. (Redding.) Remarks of Robt. E. C. Stearns occasioned by the death of the Hon. B. B. Redding, and the resolutions of the Academy, Sept. 4, 1882. Wr., 9x6, 18 pp. (With a list of Redding's contributions to current literature.)50c.

1882

Among the persons mentioned in the history of north'n California is "Maj. Pearson B. Reading, the old trapper who settled upon his ranch on Cottonwood Creek, Shasta Co., in 1847."

--Memorial and Biog'l Hist. of North'n Calif., Lewis Pub'g Co., 243, 1891.

Maj. Reading's own account of first mining in northern Calif. speaks of returning "to my home on Cottonwood."

--Ibid 244.

In biography of Maj. Reading it is stated that he got, in 1844, "a grant of the S. Buena Ventura rancho." ^a

--Bancroft, Hist. Calif., V, 689, 1886.

^a San Buena Ventura Rancho extended from Cottonwood Creek on the S to Middle Creek on the N, Sacramento R. on the E, and extending 3 miles W.--Mem'l and Biog'l Hist. of North'n Calif., Lewis Pub'g Co., 831, 1891.

Major Reading's ranch was on Cottonwood Creek, Shasta Co. Settled there in 1847.

--Frank T. Gilbert, Hist. of Calif., Vol. I of Hist. of Butte Co., Calif., By Harry L. Wells, p. 110, 1882. (Two vols. are in one.)

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MAJOR P. B. READING

"The first mining on the Trinity of which there is any authentic record was done by a party of trappers and explorers under direction of Major Pearson B. Reading, who settled in Shasta county in 1847. In the spring of 1845 Reading left (127) Sutter's Fort with 30 men and 100 pack horses for the purpose of trapping the streams of Upper California and Oregon. In the month of May he crossed the mountains from the Sacramento River, near a divide now known as 'the backbone,' and 20 or 30 miles from there he discovered a large stream which he named the Trinity, supposing that it flowed into Trinidad Bay as marked on the old Spanish charts. He remained on the river three weeks, trapping, no known ledge of gold being acquired. Four years later, in June, 1849, Major Reading, then a rancher in the Shasta Valley, organized a small party and went on an exploring expedition to the Trinity River. The party traveled up the stream a considerable distance and discovered the gold-bearing gravel bars which afterwards made the river famous. Returning to the Sacramento River settlements in August, they spread the news of the gold discovery, and the rush for the Trinity began."

A. J. Bledsoe, Indian Wars of the Northwest, 126-127, 1885.

PIERSON BARTON READING

Pierson B. Reading was born in New Jersey 26 of November 1816.

In 1843 he crossed the plains with the late Sam'l I. Hensley and some 25 others, and from that period was thoroughly identified with this region of the Continent. The route by which the party arrived is thus described by Hon. John Bidwell:

"The route by which they had come had never to my knowledge been visited or traversed by any save the most savage Indian tribes; namely from Fort Boise on the Snake river to the Sacramento Valley via the Upper Sacramento or Pitt river".

The hostility as well as courage of those savages is well known".

In 1844 Reading entered the service of Gen'l Sutter, and was at the Fort when Fremont first arrived in California. In 1845 he was left in sole charge while Sutter marched with all his forces to assist Michel to Reno in quelling the insurrection headed by Castro and Alvarado.

Reading in 1844 had received a grant in Shasta Co. Later in 1845 he visited on a hunting and trapping expedition nearly all of the northern part of California, beside Nevada, and Oregon and other parts of California. In all these dangerous expeditions, his intelligence, bravery, and imposing personal appearance, exercised over

Pierson Barton Reading--2

the hostile Indians a commanding influence. Reading enlisted under Fremont when war was declared with Mexico--was appointed Paymaster with the rank of Major of the California Battalion.

In the events preceeding and accompanying the acquisition of this Territory the knowledge and experience of Reading were of great advantage to the Government. Was engaged extensively in prospecting for gold, making discoveries in Shasta at the head waters the Trinity.

He died at his ranch Buena Ventura 29th of May 1868.

This data was taken from an obituary published by the San Francisco Examiner of Tuesday July 7th 1868 and signed by a committee of the Society of California Pioneers--namely:

Philip A. Roach
Joseph W. Winans
Lewis Cunningham
Arch'd H. Gillespie
Jacob R. Snyder

(signed) Alice M. Reading

February 26, 1923

Anderson,
California.

A SCOUT OF EMPIRE

Major Reading Opens Upper Sacramento Valley Before the Days of '49

By ELEANOR LEE READING

SOME OF THE pioneers rushed to California with a lust for gold. But there were others, preceding them by many years, who heard the haunting call of adventure, who felt the urge to explore the magnificent land whose golden shore was washed by the Western Sea. Their Eldorado promised sun-filled valleys nestling in the arms of glistening, snow-capped peaks.

One such was Pierson B. Reading, 27-year-old lawyer of Vicksburg, Miss. It was the year 1843, and no man had ever crossed into California by a route farther north than Lake Tahoe. At that time the California and Oregon Trails branched at Fort Hall, eastern Idaho. But young Reading believed that the promising upper valley of the Sacramento River could be reached by continuing on the Oregon Trail to Fort Boise in extreme western Idaho, thence cutting south by a hitherto unexplored route across the mountains into Northern California.

In May, 1843, he started on his adventure, deciding to go as far as possible with a group of about 250 who were leaving for the Columbia River in Oregon. He kept a diary of the entire trip, making daily entries, always with a rifle at his side.

The party left Westport Landing (Kansas City) May 19, 1843, and spent the first two weeks crossing barren prairies. They passed many Kansas Indian villages, each comprising about two dozen 40-foot lodges. The emigrants' camps were often visited by groups of braves who smoked and traded with the whites.

A few days later they met a war party of 80 Osage and Kansas Indians mounted on splendid horses. Returning from an encounter with the Pawnees, they exhibited gruesome trophies of the fray—fingers, thumbs, hands, scalps. One warrior wore a nose on a string around his neck. Their bloodthirst seemed sated, however, for they were friendly toward the travelers. Farther along lay several frightfully mutilated bodies of the Pawnee victims of the Kansas and Osage war party. Later the company

was visited by 80 Pawnees, who were splendid specimens physically and gave the impression of being a proud and honorable people, notably different from other tribes in that they did not beg.

In a month's time the travelers reached the treeless banks of the muddy Platte

and followed up its course for many days. Heavy rains again brought suffering, for there was no firewood with which to warm themselves or to cook, or to dry their wet clothing and bedding. There was plenty of meat in camp, yet there was suffering from hunger.

Recent storms made the Platte River too deep to ford, so there was a delay of several days while boats were prepared from buffalo hides.

On July 2 the train was overtaken by



When the party crossed the North Platte at Fort Laramie, the camp was visited by Sioux chiefs, who were presented with gifts of tobacco, beads, and other trinkets

Drawings by Iris Beatty Johnson



Can a skylark be blamed if it mistakes this country home near Victoria, B. C., for rural England and lives and sings on the mead nearby?

SKYLARK LAND

Southern Vancouver Island, Only North American Home of English Skylark

By FRANK GIOLMA

MY FRIEND stood up and took off his hat.

Such an ordinary action by an ordinary man, such, say, as you or I, would mean little or nothing. But my friend is not ordinary. No ordinary man could raise himself from a tenement room to be the head of a business from which the annual profits run into many millions. My friend has done this claiming that the key to his success has been his innate ability always to see the lath and plaster under the gilding. Such a gift or talent may lead to financial success but it certainly takes a lot of romance and sweetness out of life.

My friend in recent years has traveled all over the earth, coming back always with the preacher's doleful cry of *vanitas vanitatum*, which might, perhaps, be freely translated into the vernacular as "bunk and hokum." He lacks reverence



and very foolishly thinks that to give honor where honor is due, courtesy where courtesy, would be to acknowledge inferiority. A stiff-necked, self-opinionated man, you understand, who delights in the belief that nothing can stir him, that he is impervious to fine music, fine

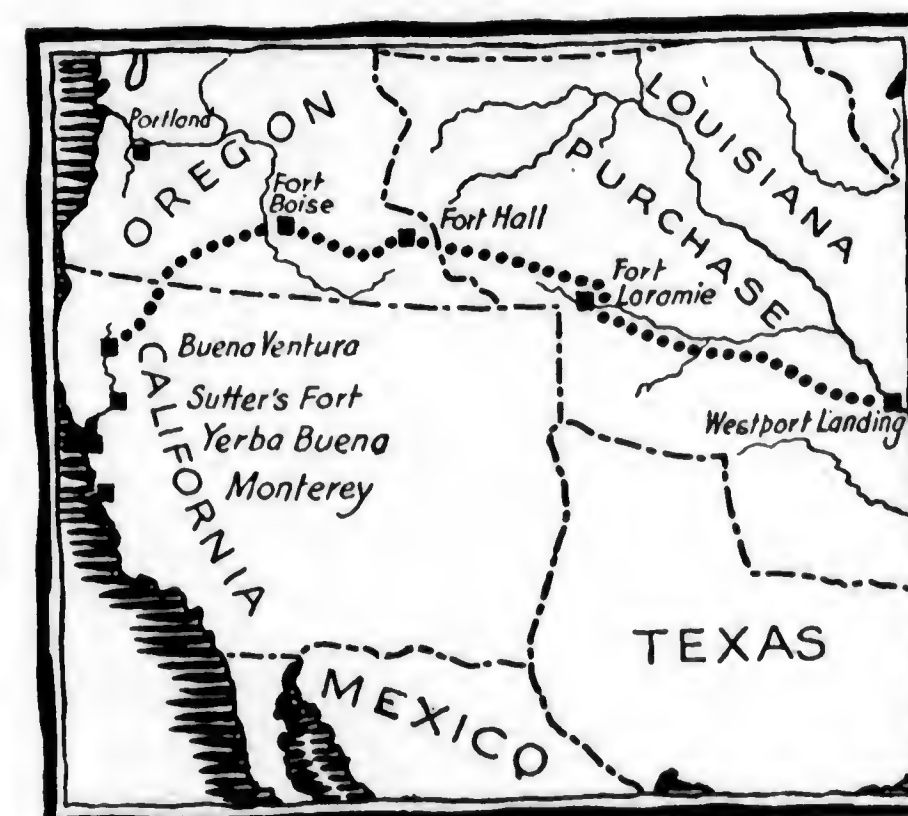
poetry, fine art, old buildings, gorgeous sunsets, snow-crowned mountains. Again and again he has graphically summed up his philosophy of life by saying that he has yet to meet the man or event or to see the sight to which he will take off his hat. You will realize then that when he suddenly stood up and took off his hat and held it reverently it was an event worth recording.

When this happened we were lolling on the grass in the shade of a grotesquely twisted garry oak near Mount Tolmie, which is barely three miles from the heart of Victoria, British Columbia, a city on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Yet we might have been six thousand miles away in an English meadow. Here overhead was the same blue sky flecked here and there with white lacy clouds; around us farmlands, grasslands, wild lands, (Continued on page 27)



Major Pierson B. Reading, after an ambrotype taken about the time of his marriage in 1856

a Mr. Childs' company bound for California. In the new wagons were several pretty girls. Now note a later entry: "Mr. Childs' company again passed us today, and eighteen wagons of our company deserted us and joined them." Of course, the truth is, Mr. Childs was a sunshine realtor in disguise and the girls, bless them, were orange-distributing decoys.



Footsteps in Empire's westward march

On July 14 the emigrants crossed the North Platte at Fort Laramie, a 300-foot adobe structure built by the American Fur Company. The surrounding territory was owned by the Sioux, and twelve chiefs of the Brula tribe visited camp and were presented with gifts of tobacco, beads and other trinkets. Major Reading's attention was attracted by some scaffolds about ten feet high near the fort, which, on examination, proved a place of deposit for the dead. "Around the body is wrapped a buffalo robe or

blanket; also deposited with it is all the movable property which belonged to the deceased; and frequently the favorite horse is killed for the deceased to ride in the other world. After the flesh has entirely decomposed, the relations take the bones and paint them with vermilion, and place them on a scaffold about five feet high, near the one where the body was first laid. Their superstition leads them to believe that the Great Spirit is pleased with such an offering and will manifest it toward the deceased in the next world by giving him everlasting youth, handsome squaws and a beautiful hunting ground abounding with game."

Then the Rockies—with their ideal camping spots, plenty of firewood, fine grass, water, and an abundance of game such as antelope, mountain sheep and grizzly bear. Near the wagon tracks was a new grave over which a note stated that it held the body of a child of Applegate's company killed when it fell under a wagon wheel.

Upon reaching Independence Rock, covered with the names of trappers and travelers, the adventurers followed up Sweet Water River for a week, then struck out over high mesas where the water was scarce and the wagons sank in the sand, making the going hard for the oxen. The summit of the continental divide was reached; then followed two weeks of hardships crossing rough country where most of the water was salt. At Eutaw Lake they met the celebrated old mountaineer, Peg Leg Smith, who had just started out from Fort Hall on a trapping expedition. They passed a

camp of 800 Snake Indians who traded fine horses for blankets and knives.

Fort Hall was reached August 27. The Oregon company purchased supplies and departed on their 800-mile journey to the Willamette River, the nearest settlement. Major Reading and two others remained, as ten men from a small company which was coming on behind wished to join them to proceed to California via Fort Boise.

WITH THE arrival of the second group Major Reading, in charge of 12 men, started out for Fort Boise, 300 miles distant, September 16. Each man had a riding horse, a pack mule, and ten days' provisions. They passed the American Falls, and three days later were caught in a snowstorm. Wood was scarce, so they spent a miserable night wrapped in cold, wet blankets.

On the 24th they camped on the Lewis River at Salmon Falls, where they found 200 naked Indians living in small, uncomfortable rush huts. They were forlorn, miserable creatures whose only food was dried fish.

On October 1 the party reached Fort Boise, a 150-foot square adobe Hudson's Bay trading post under the command of Capt. Francis Payette. Here they made preparations to leave the Snake River and journey through to California by an entirely unexplored route. "Captain Payette, who has been west of the Rockies for 35 years, informs us he has traveled to some lakes on the course we shall take, but knows nothing of the country beyond," (Continued on page 32)

"Then the Rockies—with their ideal camping spots, plenty of firewood, fine grass, water, and an abundance of game"



ibj

A Scout of Empire

(Continued from page 19)

the diary notes. "He says the Indians are very bad, having killed many of the trappers who have been in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. The mountains he also represents as being high and rugged. After some consultation we determined, although our party is too small to be safe, to set off in the morning through this unexplored region, believing a southwest course from this place will be at least the shortest distance to the California valley."

(Concluded in September issue)



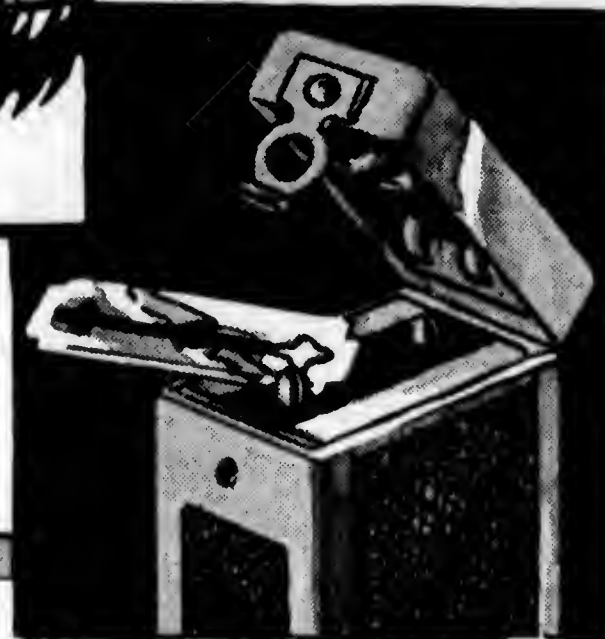
Shops for the Newest in Travel Conveniences

with CARTER WALKER

A-WHEEL A-WING A-FLOAT

Those who camp out in the true sense will appreciate this superior sleeping bag designed to be proof against severe weather

Happy days are here for the close shaver on vacation or at home. Magnetic blade sharpener



WITH THE ADIRONDACKS and the Maine woods calling the vacationist, camping may well rate as the idea of the month. Some will camp under the shelter of log cabins and glorified tents, others will drive into an open lot with their cars and convert the seat cushions into impromptu beds. But there will be many who get right down into the arms of old mother earth for the sort of outing that is stimulating because of its genuineness. For these experienced outdoor people the shops offer something decidedly superior in the form of an improved sleeping bag.

Rolled up, the bag looks like a steamer robe curled up for carrying. In this form it weighs only 10½ pounds. Upon arriving at a suitable camping site, however, the vacationist spreads the bag on the ground, opens the various "entrances" at one end and climbs in. An extra length of the piece can be propped up with two light sticks to form a head covering as extra protection if the weather is severe.

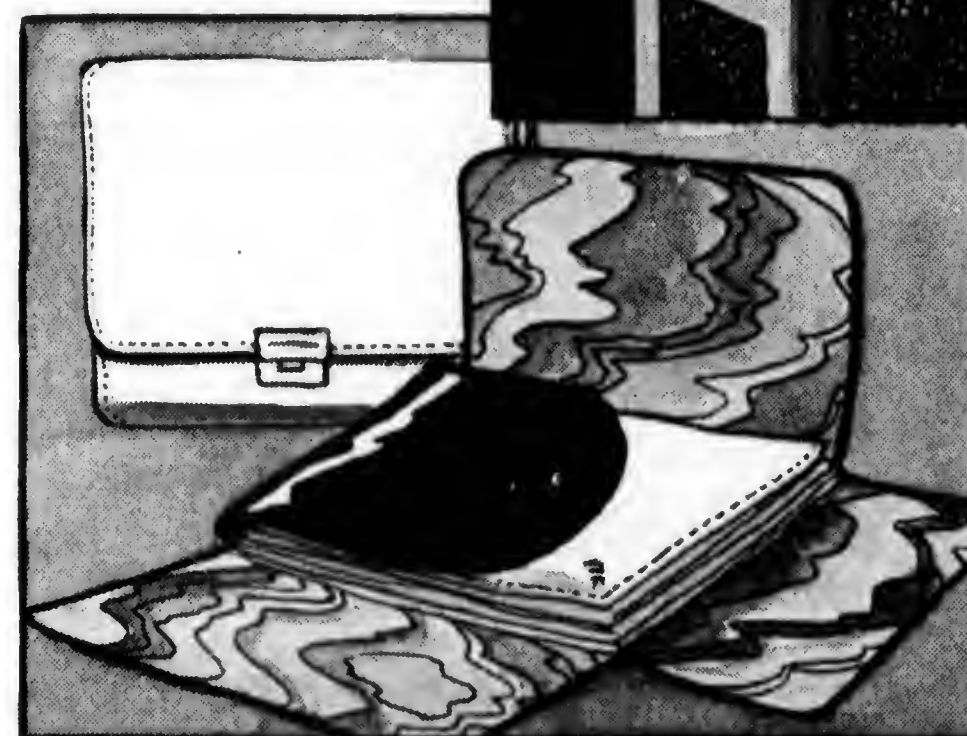
The entire affair looks primitive and thus fits the picture of the true outdoor life admirably, but when you examine it in detail you immediately appreciate how it can furnish adequate protection against the elements. The bag can be had either in wool or in down at the higher

price. In either form it is exceptionally well made and designed.

It seems to be true, as one observer puts it, that the traveler is assured better sleeping the more wide awake he is in shopping for camping equipment.

Now It's "Radio Boating"

IT HAD TO COME—this modern convenience of radio entertainment for the motorboat enthusiast. Thousands of people who have been enjoying the novelty of being able to tune in as they drive along the open road have been asking for a similar convenience in their boating. And now it has arrived.



No more mussed handkerchiefs for milady with this special case. It holds up to three dozen handkerchiefs

The novelty of the development, however, is not tempered with any experimentation. While the equipment is put out by a company known for its quality household radio receivers the newest sets for the backwaters and the high seas have been designed and constructed throughout for seagoing service. The material used in the sets has been treated to resist the effects of moisture and salt air, while all internal units have been firmly assembled to withstand continual vibration and motion characteristic of motorboat service. Wiring connections are considerably shorter than in household radio.

H. L. Richard - 1846-50

Sutter's Fort + Lower Sac. R.

LIENHARD'S ACCOUNT OF THE INDIANS OF SUTTER'S FORT AND
THE LOWER SACRAMENTO RIVER, 1846 - 1850^N

[Translation by Stella Clemence and Mabel P. Hollister]

(Page references are to the original German)

On April 21, 1846, Heinrich Lienhard and party bound for Cal- p.10
ifornia left St. Louis by boat for Independence. From there
they went by ox team to the valley of Indian Creek to join
other emigrants. A large party with 26 ox wagons started p. 16
westward. Just after crossing the Kansas River Lienhard
saw an antelope. He says: "I laid myself in the grass on the p. 29
ground, pulled the ramrod out and fastened on the thinner
end of it my many colored handkerchief; this I then let flut-
ter in the wind and held myself quite still. When the buck
had gone a little distance away, he halted in order to look
around him and he saw ~~the~~ handkerchief instead of me. There-
upon having become curious, he began slowly to approach, then
stood still, again bit off some grass and, describing a circle,
came always nearer. But as soon as the handkerchief by chance
moved faster or harder the animal again sprang a few steps
backward, always looking again at the handkerchief and then
curiosity drove it again nearer and nearer, so that I thought
myself sure of success, for the distance could not have amounted
to more than thirty steps." But he missed.

✓ Heinrich Lienhard.--Californien unmittelbar vor und nach
der Entdeckung des Goldes. Zurich, 1898.

Perhaps two days^{journey} before reaching the junction of the p. 38
North and South Platte they came to a prairie-dog settlement.

On the 18th of July they crossed the Little Sandy. Of p. 63.
wild game they daily saw antelopes, large hares, some sage
hens; in the valleys between the Wind River Mountains there
were said to be many elk, deer, mountain sheep, and gray bears,
but they did not see any. This was in the territory of the
Roh Indians, who were reported to be the finest men among all
Indians with very luxuriant hair growth and on the whole a
peaceable sort.

On July 20 they reached Green River, near Fort Britscher p.64
[Fort Bridger]; from there they took a new route called Hast-
ings Cut-off which led past Great Salt Lake on the north.

Lienhard says: "On the 1st of August we found ourselves in p. 68
the narrow valley where we had to make us a path through
thick, low woods, when we could not use the bed of the stream
itself as a road. The ax stood us in good stead here. The
bushes of the so-called June berry offered us a pleasant sur-
prise with their sweet clustered fruits, in which also the
bears appeared to take delight, as the many fresh tracks of
this animal in the soft damp earth showed." On August 7th p. 70
they reached Salt Lake, on the 8th left the Wahsatch Mountains
on their left and the following day skirted the shore of the
lake.

On August 10th they reached a valley where there were a few very deep salt-free [sweet-water] springs. Since leaving Fort Britscher [Fort Bridger] where there were Indians of the Sioux tribe, they had up to this time seen no others. The Indians here were dark-complexioned, poorly clad, short, thick-set fellows, who were said to belong to the Utah tribe. At this place they were called Diggers, because they partly live off roots which they dig with sticks out of the ground. They have a reputation for being false and treacherous and are said to kill the whites whenever they have no reason to fear retribution.

p.72

Someplace near the Utah-Nevada boundary on August 19th they reached the first sweet water spring since entering the Salt Desert. Lienhard says: "Today there were two hunters in our camp, Frenchmen I believe, as well as two Shoshawnee Indians, and these could with difficulty talk with each other. As provisions they carried with them a brownish paste in leather bags, ^{an} This, the hunters said, was prepared from edible roots. One of the hunters related, that he at the last camping place had lost a revolver; which had been found by an Indian. Not knowing whether the weapon was loaded and how to handle it, the Indian ~~had~~ played with it and it went off and he was wounded somewhat. From that time on the Indians had regarded the revolver as a mysterious thing. They seemed to have believed that the Monito (Great Spirit) let the shot

p. 81

go off as a proof that they were not to keep the thing. p.82

Very cautiously on that account they had lifted it from the ground and as they had seen which way the hunters had gone they had delivered it again to the one concerned so that ~~not~~ after all Monito would not take vengeance on them in an other way. The hunters had not tried to teach them any better, but on the contrary they strengthened them in their superstition."

On August 24 the "five german Boys" went on ahead. p. 83
 Their road led them still through the salt plains, more-often past salty, sometimes past sweet springs. They reached a gorge where two years previously emigrants had dug a spring. "After a very anxious night", says Lienhard, "from fear of Indian attacks here between the rocks, we soon reached a plateau and found there a circle of cedar branches laid upon each other pell-mell, we tried in vain to make out the object of this arrangement. Later we learned that the Indians caught antelopes here; they enticed them inside and then shot them down with their arrows. They are said to have learned this from the wolves, which, not less than four in number, so place themselves that about equal distance remains between every two wolves. When the antelope is surrounded by the wolves still at a great distance, these four-footed hunters ever gradually draw nearer, so that the circle constantly becomes smaller and the animal

ventures less and less to break through it between two wolves. In its terror the hunted animal loses its reason and becomes so to speak, blinded by fear, so that the pursuers have easy sport to attack it and tear it to pieces..."

p. 8

They remained there until the 26th. Although they saw no Indians, they saw their fires on the surrounding heights. Without any disturbance from them the journey went on until on August 29th they came down into a dry broad valley, through which the road led towards the mountains on the other side, at the foot of which they hoped to find water and grass. He says: "We were disappointed though, for it was not until at the foot of another, higher more distant mountain we at last found the wished for [water and grass] and about 30 Indians, who lived in the vicinity of our camp. They were nearly all men of 18-50 years in age. The two eldest were bigbellied old fellows. A crabbed Englishman was smoking his clay pipe and the Indians gave him to understand, by means of signs, that they also would like to take a few whiffs from his pipe. But the Englishman repelled them in a very ungracious manner..."

"Although the Indians had not understood his words, they clearly had caught his meaning, and let this be known from their black looks. The unfriendly behaviour of the Englishman was condemned also by our fellow-travelers as very rough and imprudent. An elderly American woman...was shrewd

p. 85

enough to put an end to the ill-humor of the Indians by lighting her own pipe and handing it to one of the Indian bigbellies. He accepted it with every sign of satisfaction, took 10-12 whiffs from it, letting the smoke escape through his nose. Then he handed the pipe with gestures of great contentment to his equally big-bellied neighbor. From the latter it passed to the third, and so on, till all had tasted the excellence of the smoke. All were highly pleased over the honor which the white woman had conferred upon them, and did not omit, in contrast to this, to survey the Englishman with venomous, vindictive glances...

"The two old squaws, who were the only women among the Indians, looked at this smoke ceremony delightedly. They were the most revoltingly hideous persons that I have ever seen. They were so to speak naked, for they wore only a small piece of animal skin around their hips. With their big, wrinkled, dirty stomachs they resembled old sows which had a short time before been sprawling in a muddy stream somewhere; only I think that a half-way decent pig would have exceeded them in beauty. These Indian women marvelled at the delicate, smooth, almost white-blond hair of a fine six-year old boy. Their loud laughter resembled an exceedingly high pitched screech, during which they distorted their faces in the most hideous manner. They could not look enough at the boy and kept on pointing at him. Their speech had great

resemblance to the shrieking of a number of magpies, when a cat or a fox approaches them. These squaws did not sit with the men, but apart, they came however at all events, as did also the men, to our camp only to satisfy their curiosity...The men wore neck bands of bears' claws, otherwise they were almost entirely naked. Their complexion was darker than that of the Sioux, also they were not so tall and stately as they." p. 86

"After we had left here, we came in a few days to the region richest in springs between Missouri and California... on the morning of the 6th the ground was considerably frozen, which was a stern warning to us not to let ourselves be overtaken by the winter here in the mountains...

"Once I found an Indian sitting near the road, whom I approached and seated myself beside him. His hairy back was like velvet and I stroked him a few times on it, while I kindly looked him in the face. The Indian appeared neither frightened nor angry at my behaviour and my confident manner, but on the contrary he nodded to me with laughter. Unfortunately we could not converse, so we had to assist ourselves with signs and motions. I remembered now the edible roots, took my stick in my hand and made a sign as if I would dig something out, and pointed then to my mouth, moving my jaws. He sprang quickly up from his seat, hunted around on the grass near the road, and in a few minutes returned with a few small yellow roots. I signed to him to eat of them first,

which he immediately did; then I also bit off a small piece and carefully tasted it. The taste resembled a parsnip and I ate the remainder with relish. This seemed to please him and he quickly dug still more. Then he ran off quickly hunted a pair of big grasshoppers, ~~pressed~~ the largest of them, with long legs for jumping, he pressed on the root and indicated that I was to eat it. When I refused this grasshopper butter-bread and showed disgust, he was surprised, and in order to show me he was not asking anything unusual of me, he himself took a bite, while he wished to hand the rest again to me. He appeared to have pity for the stupidity of these whites... " p. 87

When "the five german boys" sat down on the ground in the tent to eat their supper the Indian without ceremony sat down with them. They gave him some of their supper and he went away contentedly. The eating of the raw roots had rather unpleasant effect. Reinhard, especially, had very severe pains in the night. In the morning, however, his condition was normal.

He continues: "On the 7th in the morning eight Indians appeared in our camp, among them also my friend of the night before... My root-friend had both his hands full of roots which he wanted to give me... So that he would not think me ungrateful, I had to make known to him the reason of my refusal... I bent myself forward and with both hands held my belly and groaned as if I had the most violent stomach-ache.

The Indians had understood me fully... and there resounded p. 88
a perfect storm of laughter from their throats. My friend
laughed at it if possible the most and threw his roots at
my back..."

"On the 11th we camped on the banks of the Marys River p. 90
[Humboldt River], at the foot of the range of mountains on
the right. For a long time we had set no watch at night,
for we were too exhausted in the evening. Everything had
gone well up to date and especially we had never experienced
serious unpleasantness on account of the Indians. On the
morning of September 12, now, three of our oxen were missing...
there were signs that they had been driven into the distant p. 91
valleys but we did not dare follow them..."

"On the 14th we came near a high hill of deep sand,
which we had to cross the following morning....It was al-
most noon [the 15th] when we had to pass a place which ob-
viously had formerly been a fine camping ground. On a wil-
low thicket near the road hung a piece of paper...On it was
written, that at this place the Indians had commenced shoot-
ing with arrows at the oxen, and then a fight between about
30 whites and over 200 Indians had taken place. Of the for-
mer one had been seriously and several others slightly wounded,
and of the latter, it was thought, about ten men had been
killed and a number wounded.

"So the Indians had not hesitated to attack about thirty
men, and now we are but five....

"After I had put the little paper back where I had p. 93
gotten it and where other passers-by might see it, we went
on...

"We often wondered on what food the Indians lived, as p. 94
the rivers appeared to contain no fish. Various grasshop-
pers that we met with, let us surmise that these at cer-
tain seasons might form the chief food of this Indians, for
at the Sweetwater we found them so numerous that at places
we could not put a foot on the ground, without stepping on
them. Some of them were two inches long..."

On September 20th they were preparing to camp on the p. 97
bank of the river when they noticed a freshly made grave
mound, and on a low bush beside it a small piece of paper,
on which was written: "Look out for Indians . In this grave
lies a man who in the fight with the Indians further up was
wounded and was buried here. Upon our arrival we found him
dug up out of his grave, stripped of all his clothes, his
body was mutilated, for ears, nose, fingers, and scalp were
cut off. We buried him again in the same grave."

Lienhard continues: "This was a piece of news, which made
the place undesirable for us to spend the night. After we
and the animals had drunk, and we had provided ourselves with
some water, we went on farther and came again upon the higher
lying desert plain..."

"On the 21st we continued our journey till 4 o'clock p. 98

in the evening with only a short halt between, there we found on a bush again a paper, on which the following words were written [given in English]: 'Look out for the Indians, kill every one who comes, for there are great thieves here.'... I had hardly stuck the paper again on the same place, when I looking to the left, saw something approaching which very much resembled a man. In fact it was an Indian, whom then, according to the foregoing advice, we should have immediately shot dead.

"But the savage approached us too freely and unsuspectingly for us to be able to kill him...

"The Indian had already walked with us a little way and had informed us that he was a Shoshanee and came from the mountains behind. He was a big man and wore as clothing a sleeveless, high and greatly patched doublet, which had undoubtedly been thrown away as worn-out by some backwoods emigrant. The road went close to the river and we decided to camp here. But what should we do with the Indian? Did p. 99 he come perhaps to spy? None of us wished to be the murderer of the presumably innocent man. But if he left the camp there must be a risk, that he could with a greater number of companions attack us in the night. Since I of all of us knew best how to make myself understood by means of signs, I tried to learn something from him. As I thought to understand him, he wished to tell us that three had gone from

their region with one another to the Sink of Marys River and that they, to reach that place, absolutely must spend one night. I drew a serpentine line in the sand with a dot at the lower end, pointed to the river and by signs tried to ask whether his two other companions were sleeping at the Sink. He nodded with his head affirmatively. We had already decided to keep the Indian in our camp by the promise of a present. Rippstein had an old jacket... Another had a pair of old trousers... We had picked up that same day an old basket which we filled with dried buffalo meat. With these gifts I went to the Indian and gave him to understand that he would receive these magnificent things as gifts the next morning if he would sleep with us till sunrise. The Shoshanee readily agreed to this arrangement. Besides we kept our weapons constantly in readiness. To our Indian we gave of our supper what we had for ourselves and he ate it with good appetite. Before we lay down to sleep I showed him the place to sleep on the ground just in front of the shaft of the wagon, which he immediately took like a well trained dog. Then I climbed into the wagon and lay down so that I needed only to open my eyes to see him...

"In the early morning, it was the 22nd of September, when the first of us got up the Indian did likewise and helped us in the fire making in which he showed himself very pleasant and skillful. We naturally allowed him to share

our breakfast. As soon as this was over, we presented the gifts. . . He nodded to us several times pleasantly and then went on his way . . . p. 100

" . . . Late in the evening [of the 23rd] we came to the Sink, of which the Indian had spoken . . . We were very tired and slept only too well, for in the morning 5 head of our cattle were missing . . . I soon discovered that they had been driven off by three or four Indians. . . Naturally this fact caused great agitation, for from here to the Prenkys River [Truckys? p. 104] which flows down from the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada we had to make a 40 miles long distance without grass and water, six miles of which was a deep sand bank. . . I had again found a scrap of paper in a low shrubby plant, which warned us to keep close watch as the Indians of that neighborhood were terrible thieves. Unfortunately, this valuable warning came too late. . ."

On September 25th they crossed the deep sand bank and p. 104
 some went on to the Trukys River. The Indians of this region p. 105
 were said to be most dangerous. The party followed the valley several days. On the 30th of September from a hill a thick gray smoke went up, it was another Indian signal. On the 1st p. 108
 of October they made the 27th and last crossing of the Trucky River and found themselves right at the eastern foot of the Sierra Nevada. Lienhard says: "My daily entry in the journal had here reached its end, for the hardships were so fatiguing that in the evening I was glad to be able to rest. I remember however still exactly many things with time and place, which I

~~which~~ I will relate as truly as possible."...

The journey across the Sierra Nevada to Sutters Fort p. 112
was accomplished without serious hindrances. p. 120

Lienhard, reviewing the life of Sutter, states that p. 123
Sutter when in Mexico (about 1835) was commissioned by Al-
verado, at that time Governor of California, to colonize the
highly fertile valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin
Rivers, particularly the former, which were at that time in-
habited only by Indians. At first the Government furnished p.124
him with food supplies, as well as with trinkets for presents,
pearls, ornaments, clothing, etc., for the Indians, in order
to dispose them favorably for the new settlement. "The Sac-
ramento-Indians", Lienhard says, "were the first who approach-
ed the settlement; they, however, surveyed the new arrivals
only from a considerable distance, and refused to understand
the various signs of invitation to visit.

"In order to gain the confidence of the Indians they laid
all kinds of trinkets where they could see them, for example,
handkerchiefs, glass pearls, sugar, bright ribbons, etc. and
indicated that these valuable things were intended for them.

"In this way it was brought about that several came into
the camp, where only kindness was shown them, and the next time
there appeared a greater number. After these men had shown

"After these men had shown sufficient confidence it would p.125
be easy then in return for pay (presents) to employ them for
work and in this way generally accustom them to work. The

Sacramento Indians, who lived where now Sacramento City stands and the Busheny Indians, who lived at the junction of the Sacramento and the American Fork, on the right shore of the latter, were said to be deadly enemies and had always had a feud with each other. Only the river offered both tribes some security from mutual attacks. Their language also was very different. This hostility had been also to blame that for probably a year no Busheny Indians had put in an appearance in the settlement. At first the fear of their new neighbors was to blame for it and afterwards the antipathy against the other Indians who were sometimes met now in the settlement. Eventually these barriers were broken down.

"These Indians became Sutter's chief workers. . . Little by little Sutter had managed to place himself on a friendly footing with Indians of the surrounding country; and with the help of the whites and the Indians friendly to him had overthrown or punished by force the superstitious and hostile minded.

"The first nights I was unable to sleep in the fort, p. 127 because the playing Indians made a peculiarly unpleasant noise. I would not have thought at that time that in two years' time I should have become accustomed to the noise, as this really then was the case."

Lienhard spent several days at Sutter's, after which he and a party of volunteers went down the river to San Francisco,

to join the United States army. Upon arriving at San Francis- p.129
 co he and some others were sent on board the "Portsmouth".
 He says: "Our Shoshawnee Indian, who driven by curiosity, p. 132
 had joined the emigrant party and come on with us, aroused
 the universal attention of the crew."

In about ten days' time the volunteers were sent on p. 133
 to San José. Lienhard says: "Our Indian (Shoshawnee) p. 136
 was joined here by two more of his tribe, I think father
 and son. They appeared delighted at the unexpected meeting,
 and talked together, especially in the evening upon going to
 bed in their strange half loud, whispering method, so that
 the most of our people, disturbed by these unusual sounds,
 could not sleep and often called to our allies finally to be
 still."

After peace was re-established with Mexico, Lienhard p.146
 decided to return to Sutters Fort. The hardest part of the
 journey back from Monterey to New Helvetia was the section
 from the mouth of the Sacramento up the river. As traveling
 companions he had a certain Mr. Dawel and an Indian. While
 attempting to cross some swampy ground by means of an over- p.148
 hanging tree, they suddenly heard a loud whiff, which imme-
 diately scared away all the birds of the vicinity. He writes:
 "Our Indian, who understood the sounds and voices of Nature
 better than we civilized people and novices in a primeval for-
 est, appeared quite excited over the the loud whiffs, and

and looked around him everywhere without moving from the spot. Observing this I asked him [answers to questions all given in English]: 'Is it a wolf?' 'No, no' 'Is it a stag?' 'No, no' 'Is it an elk?' 'No, no!' 'Well, is it a grey bear?' 'Yes, yes, yes' was the quick, decided answer. . . we had not a single shot to send against him to frighten him. I looked around me quickly for a place of refuge. . . At first we went slowly and cautiously looking around us everywhere, then quicker and at last we commenced in real flight to run from there.

"That the grey fellow let us escape unmolested must have come from the fact that he had been watching us in our curious crossing on the tree-viaduct and did not know exactly what he was to make of this spectacle. The loud rustling of the tree at the letting go of the branches and especially the sudden flight of his feathered fellow habitants of the wilderness must have frightened him."

There were hogs in this neighborhood which had originally p. 149
been part of Sutter's herd, but had been neglected and let run wild. They doubtless served as an occasional repast for the grey bear.

Upon arriving at Fort Sutter, Lienhard was asked to take pl55
charge of a truck farm, 2 miles from Haekfarm [Hock Farm]
or Heack Farm [p. 306], which Sutter had recently started at
a place called Minal [p. 159], situated on the Yuba, a tri-
butary of the Sacramento. He says:

"With Indians, whom Sutter had employed as workers, p. 156
 I embarked at Sutter's tannery on the American River, or
 American Fork as the river is also called. . . As provis-
 ions there were in a basket from 50 to 60 pounds of beef
 and in a sack 20 to 30 pounds of unsifted, coarse wheatt
 flour in the boat. The Indians for the rest had provided
 themselves pretty well with great bales of smoked fish eggs
 and smoked ducks. We put off from shore and soon reached
 the small Bushny village, where the Indians wished to stay
 over night, taking their covers with them and also inviting
 me to accompany them, while I had hopes we would go that
 same day now on the Sacramento and then on the Feather River
 a good piece. . . I found myself thus suddenly alone on the
 still banks of the Sacramento. . . In the morning it was
 pretty late before it pleased the lazy Bushunes to come and
 we could set out on our way to Haekfarm. . . " p.158

Soon after noon the Indians showed Lienhard a racoon p. 157
 which he shot and dressed that evening to cook in the morn-
 ing, but the Indians did not care to eat the meat.

A short distance above the mouth of the American Fork is
 a site where formerly many Indians lived, who were wiped out
 by an epidemic disease.

Lienhard says: "From Haek Farm to Minal. . . the distance p.159
 was only a few miles, but the two Indians loitered so with
 the breaking up that I hardly hoped to get started and there-
 fore I took out a natural history with pictures and showed to

the other waiting Indians. When native animals appeared in it, they each showed a childish pleasure. The Indians had taken on their heads the things I had brought along and the garden barely two miles distant was soon reached on foot" . .

"The spring of 1847 was very mild and favorable for the growing. . . Soon after my arrival in Minal many Indians came every day to our house from the neighboring communities of Sidume, Yuba and Minal, of whom several were employed by us to dig a trench round the garden, and I must admit that they accomplished the work not badly at all. p. 162 p. 163

"On Sundays there were nearly always more or fewer of these bronze complexioned gentlemen about the house, now moved by curiosity, now to buy from us for themselves perhaps an old worn-out piece of clothing in exchange for a small fox or wild cat skin full of exquisite arrows with a bow. These arrows were all provided with flint tips. . . The Indians invited us then to shoot with them at various objects. I was the only one who accepted this invitation. . . The Indians of California, at least those of the region of the Sacramento and Feather Rivers, are all well built, and many of them are slender and of good proportion. The mouth is broad and full lipped, the hair coarse and black, frequently falling in locks. The men usually wear a very black mustache and chin beard a la Napoleon, this appears to grow this way by itself, without their tending it. The arm muscles are rarely strongly developed, probably owing to the fact that these men perform very

little heavy work. Their toes are pointed inwards, like those of all Indians, . . . They let their wives perform the hardest tasks; the latter have to prepare the acorn flour, by pounding with heavy stones, gather the roots and grass, as well as carry the loads in large, often water-proof, funnel-shaped baskets on the back with help of a strap over the head, while their lords in proud erect carriage with arrow and bow in the hand go ahead of them. The men occupy themselves with fish catching, which is often very profitable, particularly when the salmon in thousands come up the river to spawn, where they then are ^{easily} caught in great number in order to preserve them smoked a longer time. In the same way the roe is dried and smoked and preserved as a delicacy. Also the catching of birds, ducks and geese and other water fowl is carried on with profit. . . . p. 164

"In every village can be seen stuffed birds, as ornaments, which sometimes are used as decoys to catch more easily the migratory birds passing by in thousands in the autumn and spring. Generally there are by these ponds also thick bushes in which the Indians can hide themselves. Rafts made of rushes and reeds, which ~~are~~ covered with dried dried grass and over this with dry earth, thus forming small floating islands, are strewn with seeds which serve the ducks and geese as tidbits. On these islands are placed a few of the stuffed ducks and geese in a natural position, and toward the

background a bow of the same length and width as the artificial island, to which is fixed a bow. This bow stands, if it is open, approximately at right angle to the surface of the ground; a rope is attached to the top of it which is held by an Indian hidden in the bushes.

"When the swarms of ducks and geese come flying near as is almost continually the case, the Indian hidden in the bush lets be heard the imitated notes of the birds in question which attracts the hungry migrants to take the meal ready prepared for them. The Indian with the rope to the bow keeps himself hidden until the favorable moment is there, and then p. 165 pulls with a strong jerk the bow over the cackling birds.

An escape is no longer possible and now piece after piece is taken out and killed. If the catch is so big that the animals cannot be eaten fresh, the rest are smoked and preserved.

The Indians out of the feathers make large warm covers, which they wrap round themselves in the cold damp weather. These covers appeared at that time to be almost the only article of clothing of the men as well as of the women, for the latter were as naked as the men with the exception of a number of fringes about $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot long, which they had fastened to a girdle around their hips, and of which the one half hung down in front and the other behind, while the hips were pretty free and uncovered.

"For the catching of small fish the women knit nets and likewise for the catching of small birds. Woodpeckers, of which

there are many in California, are caught with torches, when they are wakened from their sleep and frightened, so that they try to fly out of the nest, while a net is held before the opening. They try likewise to obtain hares with a long net, with which the place where they are suspected to be is enclosed, and by beating upon the bushes they make the hares run and then try to shoot them. In the summer the Indians busy themselves with the catching of innumerable grasshoppers, and certainly in an ingenious way. There are namely any number of funnel-shaped holes dug in the ground from 3 to 4 feet in diameter at the top and narrowing down to $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot, then perpendicularly still a foot deeper and about a foot wide. The upper part is carefully smoothed over, so that the animals have no good foothold. When these holes are ready each participant in the catch takes a green branch and he walks, as do all the others, slowly in a wide circle around the hole or the holes in question, while they frighten the animals in the direction of the hole or partly whisk or chase them. The closer they get to the holes, the wilder the grasshoppers behave, and finally nothing remains for them but to make the leaps at random, so that they then fall into the pit whence they cannot again escape. Now the catchers are ready to ^{take} handful after handful out of the pit and throw into ^a the basket, while someone takes care that the animals cannot get out again, which with a broad leaf is easy to prevent. As soon as the pits have been emptied

the baskets are brought to the camp or home in the village, .pl66
 where the animals are killed with hot ashes or roasted
 one by one, by holding them pinched in a small stick over
 the glowing embers, until this is done. In this way ~~this~~
 this destructive land plague becomes a partial blessing for
 hungry stomachs. . . "

In June Lienhard went to Sutters Fort for a few days on . p.167
 Upon his return he found that
 business. ~~during~~ his absence some young Sisum Indians had taken
 liberties with the man (white man) he left in charge.

In order to keep supplied with food, they had slaughtered
 a small ox, and the meat was cut into long thin strips for
 preserving, in which several of the Minal Indians helped. They
 had a frame work of sticks over the fire on which to dry and
 smoke the meat. Lienhard asked the chief of the Minal Indians p.168
 and two of his men to help carry an oak stump to the fire. At
 first they pretended not to understand, when he finally suc-
 ceeded in making himself understood, they showed considerable
 opposition. They said, "Na hanni dennin", which meant ^{that} the piece
 was too heavy and declined to help. Lienhard took hold of one
 end to show them there was nothing wonderful in carrying the
 block whereupon the Indians uttered their sound expressive of
 surprise and despair, "Hum, hum", which meant something like
 "You had better let it be." Provoked by this response, he ex-
 erted all his strength and with great difficulty succeeded in

heaving it onto his back and took it to the desired place. They looked at him a long time very humbly as if rooted to the spot and then left him to return to their home. This doubtless served to his profit, to give him the reputation of being a wonderfully strong white man. . .

Lienhard improved the opportunity to observe the life p. 169
and doings of different animals. He says: "An Indian showed p. 170
me once a field-mouse with large cheek pouches and short tail
half the size of a rat. The Indians had bound it by the hind
legs with a long thin cord. The mouse was let out on an open,
turf-covered place, but the end of the rope was held in the
hand, it became so enraged that it hurled itself at the feet of
one of the Indians and began to scream aloud in excitement
and rage. . .

Concerning the Indians he says: "... there were in the p. 173
neighborhood chiefly three Indian settlements, Sisum, Yuba, and
Minal, of which the inhabitants of the first two were more
thievish than those of Minal. A day seldom passed that several
of these Indians did not appear at my house, particularly the
men, who usually ran around quite naked. As our house door had
no lock, it was not a rare thing that after going out I missed
this or that on my return. . .

As the Indians had begun to leap across the trench sur-
rounding the garden, and as I thought to spy out where they could
get something convenient for themselves during the night, I
considered it necessary to forbid this for the future. . . .

"My friend, that is to say the Indian Seie, whose brother p. 174 was chief, had often told me that it was chiefly the Sisums and Yubas who meddled with stealing my products. The younger brother of the Chief Pumel once came to my house sick and as I considered these people true and honorable I laid it to myself thereupon to show him my friendship. I gave him a place in the roomy so-called smoke house where he could lie and I prepared him tea from sage, dill, "Weinwurzels", Spanish pepper, etc. so that he could sweat; gave him some bread to eat and had the pleasure, after several days of seeing him well. Soon after that came also Pumel, the chief, sick to me and I cured him also, for which he was very grateful.

"After some time I was seriously ill myself, which my Indian friend Seie noticed and tended me with the greatest care. . .

"This summer [1847] was a disastrous one for the Indians p. 177 on the Feather River, for a malady had carried away many, especially women and children. Several villages had lost nearly all their women, I was told subsequently. About 400 feet from my house for a long time I heard the sounds of mourning and death lamentation, sometimes we saw men and women painted completely black, which looked horrible. I believe that this heavy mortality was the result of wrong treatment, for I myself once saw how they repeatedly submerged a feverish, sick child by the whole body in the Yuba River, high-going from the melting of the snow, because it was thought it was very warm and this cooling off would

be a benefit and healing. I heard the child died soon after. .

". . . Concerning the dwellings, there are two kinds of them, summer and winter houses. The latter look not unlike enormous molehills. Aspart of this, about 3 feet, is sunk below the level of the ground, thus hid in the earth, and several strong posts are put up in the middle of it, which constitute the chief supports of the structure, upon which the ridge of the roof comes to rest. In a diameter of from 12 to 20 feet, according to the desired size of the house, strong but flexible rods are ~~are~~ fastened or stuck into the ground and from about the middle on, so broken that the thinner part comes to lie upon the middle post, and can be fastened there, which is easily possible with creepers. When this framework similar to an umbrella frame is finished, then across on these rods which serve as ribs, come also in the whole extent of the roof, lighter and pliable rods, over and under these ribs and are bound together, always an upper with an under, until the whole roof forms a kind of texture. On this comes then a layer of well prepared mud or clay, which is carefully stamped, beaten, trampled, and smoothed over all the existing texture, walls as well as roof and both sides, inside as well as outside. Sometimes a smoke hole or air hole is left open at the top, and in front above the ground is the entrance, namely a hole from 2 to 3 feet wide and high, and the palace is ready. The house furnishings consist of a number of different baskets, some of which are

water-proof and are used as water vessels. I could not help often marveling at such basketry works, which are also made for ornamentation, and are veritable works of art.

"In the middle of the dwelling a hole in the ground or a small pile of stones supplies the hearth, and to the inner house walls are fixed a few couches or beds over which are laid soft mats of marsh grass or rushes as mattresses.

"The summer houses or summer dwellings consist mostly of Dula (rushes) and rush mats laid by rows over a framework, laid as for the winter houses, but lighter, because no weight comes upon it, as in the winter houses. These summer houses, however, stand on, that is above the ground, therefore level with the outside ground of the neighborhood. Seen from the outside they have the greatest resemblance to a hay or straw stack.

"Around the chief house, are often placed smaller, similarly built huts, which serve for the preservation of stores, such as cereals, acorns, roots, etc. p.179

"As with the whites the wheat is looked upon as the principal bread grain, so it is with the Indian the fruit of the oak tree, the acorn. According to the species of the oak tree, the fruit is also very different in form and taste. From the flour of the acorn the Indians prepare a kind of gruel and various kinds of cakes baked on stones, which however, seldom taste very good, and still more seldom are without an admixture of sand, which grates most unpleasantly between the teeth. As already

remarked several times, there is not wanting also meat of various kinds, and fish and grasshoppers. As vegetables they use various herbs, roots and grass seeds. The root of the *Eschholzia Californis*, which has a resemblance to our potatoes is greatly prized. It is roasted on stones by being placed on the leaves of weeds, and on hot stones covered with earth. The Indians also are acquainted with garlic and onion like bulbs. . .

"Although California might at that time have been called a Paradise for hunters, the Indians ^{were} seldom good shots. There was never lacking game ~~game~~ of all kinds: The proud elk, of the size of a mule, was not rare, the bucks of the same had majestic horns; several species of stag and deer; a number of antelopes 200 pounds heavy; the grey bear; in the mountains situated toward Oregon, the California lion, of particular size and strength; various species of cats; the badger, the European hare and several kinds of rabbits; a small species of fox, furnished with long toes, similar to a child's hand, which climb rapidly and are bad chicken thieves; racoons, water rats, beavers, and the buffalos and wolves already mentioned many times, as well as a number of ducks and geese. . . .

"I could only account for the indifference of the Indians p.180 to the hunt by the fact that they could so easily obtain enough fish and fowl in a very easy way, for they despised neither the stag, deer, elk, antelope nor bear meat; but they ate, no, they devoured such in incredible quantities whenever it was offered to them.

"As the Feather River Indians had lost so many of their women through death, they had to think of ways and means how they could again replace this loss. There was decreed by them a campaign against the Mountain Indians, whose men they intended to kill, but the women they would bring home with them as chief booty. In order to have a cause, or to be able to pretend to have, they made use of the complaint that the herdsmen of Cordua had stolen their cattle. To ensure victory, for a long time beforehand the bows and arrows and lances were repaired and training done. Some coyote had to represent the enemy. Three principal calls were practised as war whoop, and suddenly uttered as from one throat and always indeed in octaves from the highest to the lowest tone. When I heard these yells for the first time, I working in the garden, and as I did not know what these cries might mean I went upon a hill and saw to my ^{great} surprise a number of naked Indians armed with bows, arrows, and lances, hastening in the direction towards me. Had I at that time . . . known nothing of the projected campaign against the Mountain Indians, I would quickly have taken to flight, but however I remained standing under an oak tree, to see what this band of naked fellows really wanted. It appeared that they were pursuing a wolf as an exercise in running. . .

"The campaign was finally undertaken, accompanied by several of the herdsmen belonging to Cordua and Pumel on horseback, p. 181 all supplied with lassos, it seems however to have been without success, for they are said not to have brought home a single

woman as booty. Several of the Minal Indians told me that in the evening they had advanced towards the first little village of the mountain Indians, but had not made the attack until the next morning, and quite without success, because the enemy in the meantime had received information of the scheme. Only one Mountain Indian was killed, and he by my friend Seie. . . the man hit had fallen backwards crying loudly. He - Seie- then had cut off his head and robbed him of his pelican bones, which he wore around his neck, and hung them around his own neck as a war trophy. Of the Valley Indians no one was killed, but the booty also was inconsiderable. . . "

Soon after this Lienhard returned to Sutters Fort, p. 192 and was employed as overseer. There was being built a flour mill ~~mill~~ on the American River and a sawmill about 50 miles further on. In addition to whites, Sutter employed many Mountain Indians. He obtained them from various chiefs who served him as overseers. Sutter flattered the Indian chiefs by calling them Captain and they received higher wages than the ordinary workmen, who for an ordinary cotton shirt or pair of breeches had to work two weeks. Lienhard says: "The way in which these Indian workers were fed, reminded me of the feeding of a lot of pigs. In a long trough they received cooked wheat, at which they squatted and with the right hand put the steaming grain to their mouth, making a noise not unlike a number of geese. They received beef also, which was very cheap." p.193

The Indians were employed as wool spinners and weavers p. 194
for a time but this branch of industry was soon given up. The
millers, bakers, and cooks were all Indians as well as the p. 195
vaqueros. In addition there were about 30 younger Indians who
acted as drivers and field workers.

Lienhard says: "The way and manner in which wheat was threshed at Sutters Fort was also new to me, although it somewhat resembled that employed at Highland; but instead of sitting on a horse and riding around in a circle over the grain, here a number of wild horses were brought and driven into a high enclosure somewhat distant from the grain stack, in which already a thick layer of the wheat sheaves had been laid on the hard earth. A number of Indians provided with sticks had previously taken position on the grainstacks or grains heaps and around the outer circle several are likewise placed. Then the wild animals were frightened by the equally wild yells of the Indians and started into a wild run, so that they ran from them as if mad till the grain was thrown out from the straw. Then the straw was removed and fresh sheaves laid down, whereupon the wild chase again began anew. When the horses at last showed exhaustion, fresh were brought in. The cleaning of the grain was done as everywhere by windmills." p. 196 p. 197

About December 1847 Lienhard was commissioned to substitute Sutter, who was the Government Indian agent, in the work of counting the Indians in the various tribes. He says: "By this count I convinced myself, by the way, that the population p. 201

must be considerably decreased, for I came to several completely deserted communities and in some villages or camping places I found very many human bones lying scattered on the ground."

"Soon after the discovery of gold he [Cleaveland] went p.214 went to the American River to look somewhere for gold, where he in a short time got out several hundred dollars worth. With this, the credit at Cordua and several hundred dollars which he borrowed from the old Canadian Frenchman . . . he got together about 1500 dollars . . . p.215 He went from here to San Francisco, bought for his money all kinds of things which the Indians like, glass beads, knives, handkerchiefs, tobacco, articles of clothing which he then exchanged for gold up in the mines. . . . for a knife worth 20 to 25 cents he received an ounce of gold (16 dollars), for a little tobacco of about 2 ounces weight an ounce, for a handkerchief an ounce, for a couple of yards of muslin an ounce, for glass beads equal weight gold. . . ."

In 1848 Lienhard bought a flock of sheep from Sutter and p.255 went with them to the neighborhood of Calama, where gold was first discovered. The gold diggers, most of whom were Indians, were glad to have him in that region, as they were always glad to buy sheep. Referring to ^{the} various methods of killing sheep he says: "At first I killed the animals by cutting the throat, but the Indians would not have this, but had in fact a much less bloody way of killing. Two men held the sheep by the body and a third quickly twisted its head around, thereby the spinal column was broken and a more instantaneous death caused.

"It was a pleasure to watch the Indians when they feasted on the roast mutton, and the fat dripped out of the corners of their mouths. If an outer piece was cut and the roasted part eaten, they replaced on the fire the pieces not fully roasted. The most interesting to me was the eating of the skin, which it seemed to me must be a kind of dessert and delicacy. The p. 257 skin with wool was laid on the glowing coals, which naturally spread a wonderful scent. In a short time the entire skin shriveled up to a uniform mass which then was eaten with gusto. The guts were also eaten, during which they employed even their toes for holding the same. . . "

On one occasion some young Indian men from the neighbor- p. 258 ing village came to the camp at Calama and reported to the Indian servant Könnök that the white men who were washing gold up the river had killed his uncle and another Indian and had cut off their scalps and taken them away with them. Könnök told Lienhard that the Indians would bring the bodies to his camp to p. 259 be burned and the ashes buried, for that was their district. Lienhard in recounting it says: "Durr, arrived at last just as the twilight stopped, . . said, 'These Indians here are good natured, stupid people. If they were like the Indians in the Rocky Mountains, then it would be all over with us.'"

"Hardly had it begun to get dark, when from afar the mourn- p. 260 ing sounds familiar to me from Minal, from the garden, were to be heard, and the Indians approached in a procession with torches. At the

other end of the place they made halt. It was already too dark to be able to distinguish whether they brought the bodies of the murdered men with them. My Konnock wished also to render the last honors to his uncle and I told him he should say to his relations and acquaintances that I myself was very angry with the whites and much deplored the death of the chief, but we would protect ourselves to the utmost. . . Konnock however instantly opined that they would do nothing to hurt us ; . .

"When Könnöck had gone, the Mogriner Indian, who was still with Durr, together with his countrywoman, Durr's wife, wished also to go, but my Indian Aboga advised against it, saying: 'The people are now excited and wild; if any other man than one belonging to the place show himself, it would certainly be no wonder if the kinsmen should avenge themselves upon such a person. I am indeed an Indian of this place, only of Sacramento and I could not venture to go out there, for I know how we have behaved ourselves in similar circumstances; the people are now stirred up about everything.

"At the lower end a fire was now lighted, which soon burned briskly and was surrounded by dark forms, which struck up the single mourning tone, which by degrees, others joined, until all with wild gesticulations were taking part in the inharmonious, singing, weeping and howling, which my dogs with their howl answered, for which I was very sorry. --Gradually this fury became again somewhat less and almost all sound ceased. Only

now and then was heard still a few tones, also the movements p.261
 around the fire were much quieter. It was as if those concerned
 were resting from a strenuous labor, in order then again to
 start in with renewed force. This was indeed so, for gradually,
 not all at once, began the same ear-splitting screeches and
 howls, and mounted to the highest point of conceivable possi-
 bility, whereupon the same sank again from the most uncanny
 point of pitch to the most awful death stillness. This went
 on the whole night and it was only towards morning that all was
 quiet and only at intervals a voice still let itself be heard,
 which in weeping milder tones seemed to give expression to ~~the~~
 grief. If by chance the wind drove the smoke towards us, the
 smell of burned flesh was always combined with the smell of the
 smoke, which increased the dreadfulness of the thing. . .

" . . . After breakfast I went down and saw the brother
 of the dead chief, huddled beside an earth mound resembling
 a large molehill . He was very tired and sleepy so that at
 first he had not noticed my approach, but still now and then
 sobbed. When he finally saw me, his eye looked very angry.
 I motioned with my hands and with the most earnest gestures of
 sympathy possible, that I did not come with bad intentions . . .
 We exchanged in greeting only a few words of condolence, in
 which I said: "They were bad men who killed your brother."---
 'Si, señor, muy malos,' was his answer.

"The little earth mound, which hid the ashes of an uncivilized man. . . was about two feet wide and smoothly rounded off, p.262.

with a bowllike depression above wherein had been carefully p 262
laid some beads made of pelican bones.

"This noon after I had eaten, I had my Jenny quickly
saddled and rode well armed to the Indian village where the
murdered man had lived. I came past the place where the Ger-
mans had washed gold a short time before, but there was no one
there any more. Also the Indian village was empty. I rode at
random farther on to look for my white friends, . . Indian p. 263
women were fleeing from me, because they took me for a robber
and a murderer, and always ran away from me if I wished to
quiet them. A band of Indians who were bathing near there,
and knew me, called to the women that I was a good man, and
was no murderer.

". . . In about half an hour Rippstein and his companion
came and they related that in Coloma there reigned great agita-
tion and bitterness against the Indians and that some forty
whites there were preparing a campaign of vengeance against them
on the following day and intended to kill all the Indians whom
they might meet. . .

"As motive for this murder expedition, the report was given
out that five whites had been killed by Indians; I for my part,
thought that the five murderers of the chief and his companion
spread this report to justify their own act thereby.

"But on the following morning very early, ^{we} followed the advice,
and drove our sheep to the previous camp. I considered it more-

over my duty to warn the Indians of the danger threatening them, but they had either understood my pantomime too little or they were too indifferent, for immediately after our departure p.264 in the morning a number of whites came and murdered almost all the Indians which I had already warned in the evening."

Lienhard was commissioned to bring the wife and family p.267 of ^{Capt.} Mr. Sutter from Switzerland. On the 21st of January 1850, they entered San Francisco Bay, from there by boat they went to Heackfarm: here the family was to live. p.295

In honor of Miss Eliza Sutter, the foundations of a city called Eliza City were laid four miles above Heack Farm on the left bank of the Feather River, there where it makes a big bend and where formerly the place of the Sisum Indians lay.

While Lienhard was at Heack Farm early in 1850 he received p.306 a visit from his former friend, Seye, the brother of the chief "Bummel". He says: I had a round Holland cheese, of which I p.307 had just eaten a piece and which tasted very good. The Indian put it to his nose and then put it far to the side, for the smell was disagreeable to him. 'I can't eat that, it stinks, what is it in fact?'

"'This is made from the milk of cows and we white people eat very much of it.'

"That was enough for my friend, for the Indians have a great distaste for cow's milk. . . Also Zwieback, which I offered him, he didn't like particularly, but would rather have had meat, which I didn't have at hand."

"As he found nothing else suitable for himself, he went to his home Minal. This was the last visit of one of the primitive men with whom I had had so much to do, and in a thousand individuals with proper treatment had found less of evil than in only a hundred whites."

On the 1st of July 1850, Lienhard left California forever.

Note of the editor. My friend traveled then back to his home, was married, bought a property in Kilchberg near Zurich and returned after a couple of years to America where, staying in the polygamous Mormon city Nauvoo, he settled down and lives there yet today, a 76 year old graybeard.

INDIANS OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION
INCLUDING SUISUN BAY AND LOWER RIVERS, IN 1811. MS Journal of
Padre Abella, 1811.

Abella, Diario de un registro de los rios grandes, 1811, MS. ^[P. 321]

The same expedition is briefly noticed by Moras, Exploration, i, 450, who adds: 'Le journal manuscrit de cette exploration intéressante est entre nos mains.' Oct. 15th from the presidio anchorage to Angel Island in A.M. and in P.M. as soon as the tide was favorable, to Pt Huchones (name of the Indians there). Between Angel Island and points Huchones and Abastos is formed a bay twice as large as that at the port, with 8 islands, mostly small, one of which has to be passed on the way to Huchones. This island has a bar visible only at low water, and must be passed on the west at a little distance. Oct. 16th gave to Pt Huchones the name Pt San Pablo and to the opposite point (probably the one before called Abastos) that of San Pedro (both names still retained). These points, with two little islands between, close the first bay and begin another [much larger one (San Pablo Bay)]. There are 5 gentile ^{P. 322} rancherias on the north and west. On the west enters an estero, said by the Indians to be large (Petaluma Creek), but Moraga has been round it twice — A league and a half to another point named San Andrés (Pt Pinole). The intermediate country is all 'mainland of San José,' belonging to the Huchones, mostly bare but with a few oaks and a fine stream (where San Pablo now stands) — To the Strait of the Karquines ending the bay and formed between the 'tierra firme de San Josef' and

at first an island (Mare Island) but farther on mainland also on the north--Through the strait to its end in the country of the Chupunes, where there are mud flats and a dangerous concealed rock. Place called La Division. Oct. 17th, into a large bay (Suisun Bay) where the water gradually became fresh--About 18 leagues eastward (clearly erroneous as are nearly all the distances of the diary) along the southern shore, past islands, tules, and swamps, into a right-hand channel, to camp on an island (Brown or Kimball Island) which was a fishing station of the Ompines. Oct. 18th, back half a league to take the left-hand channel, though there was no need as the branches came together again--Eastward past another island, (Kimball's or West's) past a widening whence a passage (Three Mile Slough at head of Sherman Island, explored on the return) led through into the northern River of San Francisco (Sacramento)--Half a league farther on turned into the right-hand and smaller branch (The West Channel of the San Joaquin), and sailed southward in a winding course with nothing in sight but water and tules and sky, sleeping on the boats for want of a landing. Oct. 19th-22d, still up stream through the tules southward and eastward to the Pescadero rancheria on an island (the name had been given before and is still sometimes applied on modern maps to the southern end of Union Island) belonging to the Cholbones--Thence eastward (noting the middle channel and southern slough of modern maps) into the main river, which they named the San Juan Capistrano (San Joaquin). At or near the junction they set up a cross, and supposed themselves on the parallel of San José, (though really opposite San Francisco)

At the junction of the southern slough farther up (just above the present railroad bridge. It is not clear that this party went up there) was the rancheria of the Cosmistas--Thence down the main stream (East Channel) to the rancheria of the Coy-boses. Oct. 23d-7th, down the river to the branch followed up from the 18th (mouth of West Channel)--through the passage before noticed (at head of Sherman Island) northward into the San Francisco (Sacramento), naming the numerous Indians apparently Tarquimenes--and down the river to the junction, saying mass at the Loma de los Tompines, opposite the Cerro Alto de los Bolbones (which was ^[of course] perhaps Mt. Diablo). The country on the San Francisco (Sacramento) is described as well fitted for settlement, but accessible only by water, by crossing either at the presidio or at the Strait of Karquines--Thence northwardly through an estero (Montezuma Creek and Nurse Slough) to a spot one league from the plain of the Suisunes. Oct. 28th-30th, one league to the head of Suisun Creek, and the edge of the large fine plain dotted with oaks. The Cerro de los Bolbones was about 12 leagues S.W. (S.E.?) Two rancherias were Suisum and Malaka, and another at a little distance was Ulululo^[ululato]. Two leagues distant was where Moraga's famous battle took place. On the 29th the voyagers returned to Angel Island; and spent all the next day in getting across to the presidio against unfavorable wind and tide.

--Foregoing is footnote (verbatim) in Bancroft, Hist. Calif., II, 321-323, 1885.

ABELLA, EXPEDITION BY WATER FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO UPPER SAN JOAQUIN

In 1811 Fathers Ramon Abella and Buenaventura Fortuni went on expedition by water with Sergeant Sanchez from San Francisco to the lower Sacramento and Upper San Joaquin, visiting the following rancherias: Abastos, Bolbones, Cholbones, Chupanes, Cosmitas, Coyboses, Huchunes or Huchiunes, Karquines, Malaka, Ompines, Suisunes, Tauquimenes, and Ululato.

There are two original MS diaries of this expedition one signed by Father Abella, which is in the Archives of Santa Barbara Mission, the other signed Gervasio Arguëllo in the Huntington Collection of the Bancroft Library. The two diaries are the same word for word with some slight differences in spellings:

The following translation was made in 1917 from a MS copy of Abella's diary in the Bancroft Library in Vol. IV of the manuscripts entitled "Archives of Santa Barbara". It was carefully compared in 1919 with the original Abella diary at Santa Barbara and found to be correct. It has also been compared with the original Arguëllo diary, and the differences are added in footnotes to this translation.

Dr. H. I. Priestley, in an article on expeditions sent out from California missions (in galley proof, not published), includes a description of this expedition from these diaries. He says it was the first recorded bay exploration since that of Ayala, 1775. Priestley's identifications of localities are here given in footnotes.

An abstract of Abella's diary is given in Bancroft, Hist. of Calif. II, pp. 321-3, footnote, 1886. Bancroft says this expedition is noted in Duflot de Mofras, Exploration, I, 450.

"Oct. 15, 1811.--At 10 o'clock in the morning we set out from the embarcadero of the Port [San Francisco] and stopped at the island of Los Angeles because of the tide. At 4 in the afternoon the tide was favorable and we set out and came to the point of the Huchunes,¹ and put in on the S side of the point. We journeyed about 5 hours that day, all at the oars and with a calm sea. The island of Los Angeles and the points of the Huchunes¹ and Abastos form a bay about equal in size to that of the Port. It has eight islands most of which are small. One of them that we passed in sailing to the Point of the Huchunes¹ has a bar visible only at low tide and it is necessary to pass a little to the W of it. On the W side it is all covered with trees. [102]

Oct. 16.--We set out from the point of the Huchunes,¹ [103] which we called San Pablo. At the place where we slept there is a good shore for landing with water and wood. This point of San Pablo has another point opposite which we called San Pedro. Halfway between are two little islands, which with the two points form a bay, as we have said, and also begin another much larger, which as we measured it was about 4 leagues across. The bay is square and on the side to the N and W there are 5 rancherias where there are still gentiles. On the side to the W an estero comes in, which the Indians say is large.² But

¹Arguëllo's diary: Huchiunes

²Priestley: Petaluma Creek

Alferez Gabriel Moraga has been around it twice on expeditions that have been made in these parts. A league and a half away we came to another point which we called San Andres.⁴ Between it and that of San Pablo, which is all the mainland of San Josef,¹² there is an estero that empties [104] into an arroyo, which those that have been there say, and the Indians as well, is like that of the Pueblo, but very deep. There are sufficient trees. Between these points there are 4 varas of water and at low tide as much as 2. That is, sailing in front of it, because farther in, it would be the same as at the Port, because it is a channel with a good current. All the country of the Huchunes¹³ is sufficiently barren, although there are some live oaks. As far as the Strait of the Karquines¹³ where we have sailed today and yesterday we have spent some 8 hours and all to the NE and NNE of the Mission. Here to the end of this bay it has been about 8 leagues. The strait is formed by an island¹⁵ and by the mainland of San Josef. The island ends immediately and there is mainland on either side. The strait runs to the SW and gives a half turn to the S. There is much current according to the rise and fall of the tide. This strait is [105] about 2½ leagues long and quarter of a league wide. In some places it is broader and ends in the country of the Chupanes,¹⁶ where it already broadens out. Here we landed at half past

Arguëllo's diary: ¹⁴San José, ¹²Huchiunes, ¹³Carquines
 Priestley: ¹⁴Point Pinole;
¹⁵"later known as Yegua, and now as Mare Island,"
¹⁶"the chupanes who were part of the Carquines group."

eleven at a little place in the shore that is dry when the tide is out and they had to draw up the boats about 200 varas in order not to be stranded. A large rock was discovered at low tide that would make it dangerous to bring the boats alongside, but a little below this rock toward the mountains there is a sort of little arroyo that is good. We gave this place the name of La Division.¹ It has a good spring of water and sufficient wood. Here we passed the night. The shore opposite the mainland of San Josef² on the strait is called³ of the Karquines and is very barren.

Oct. 17.--We set out at 9 o'clock and immediately left the country of the strait which as I have said we called La Division and entered a large bay which is 4 or 5 leagues broad and gradually becomes fresh water from here on. Four leagues farther on it is entirely fresh. We sailed near the coast of San Josef and after 5 leagues it divides forming a sort of estero. We went all day close to the coast of San Josef. There are several little islands covered with tule and thickets. After 14 leagues they become like rivers. There is tule on the sides and a regular marsh which prevents landing. So in this arm of the river as everywhere else we have been, the water rises with the tide and we have noted that in some places it rises a vara and a half. And this is natural from the lay of the land and the swift current at the strait of Karquines.³ Where we have gone today the river has a channel of quarter of a league and in some places more. We sailed about 8 hours today, 4 with fresh wind, completing some 18 leagues all toward the East. Sometimes the

river turns to the NE. We stopped at an island that had 107
 fair-sized groves all full of bushes. . . A little before
 coming to this island the river divides in two branches.
 At this dividing place there are some willows about half
 a league before arriving to the left which is the mouth
 that we took. On this island¹, the site where we camped is
 known to be a fishing camp of some gentiles called the
 •Ompines, for there are signs of fire.

Oct. 18.-- We set out from this island at 7 in the morn-
 ing and went half a league back and entered the preceding
 mouth, although it did not seem necessary to me to turn
 back, but rather to follow the same mouth, because after-
 ward we saw that they came together and so the guide had
 already told us. We went some 7 leagues to the E with a
 fresh N wind. The river has some turns about quarter part²
 of the 7 leagues and forms another island with the mouth
 where we slept, and for this reason I said it was not ne-
 cessary for us to turn back. It is all tule on both sides [108]
 of the river and sometimes shrubbery. It is about $\frac{1}{2}$ league
 in breadth as I have said. At noon we landed in a marsh.
 Here the river broaden sufficiently, and there is another
 mouth³, although somewhat hidden that communicates with
 a river to the N called San Francisco, going up to the left
 and this we took on the 24th. We set out at about 2 in the
 afternoon. After $\frac{1}{2}$ league we took the mouth to the right
 which carries the least water⁴, and has some shrubs, leaving
 Priestley: "probably Browns."

¹Kimball Island

²Head of Sherman Island

⁴West Channel San Joaquin

the main stream to the left, because we intended to keep [108]
 as close as we could to San Josef's land. But if others
 return they should follow the main river, because all
 the other mouths are branched forming a multitude of
 islands. We sailed to the S with many twistings and
 turnings, the main ones being to the SW and S, winding [109]
 thus two or three times. The shores are not without
 tule and at times so high that nothing but tule, water
 and sky can be seen. We sailed until 11 at night be-
 cause there was no place to stop and slept in the boat.
 There was land but it was inundated. We did not measure
 our journey today because of the twistings and turnings.
 It was about 9 o'clock ^{at night} where the river divided into 2
 mouths and where we left. the main channel which goes
 on to the large river; and we found on the 22nd that it
 has more water than the one we followed and the two
 join a little before coming to the place where we erected
 a cross.

Oct. 19.-- We set out at 5 in the morning and traveled
 until 2 that day. The river has as many turnings and is
 bounded by tule, but a little farther on we found the [110]
 land higher although treeless. We found rancherias in
 2 or 3 places, where there were some Christians who had
 already been converted by the Mission of San Josef. We
 set out at 2 in the afternoon and after a league came
 upon 2 gentile women about 70 years old with a married
 couple and a Christian boy from the Mission of San Josef.

They had a quantity of fish. This place is known as a [110] good one for fishing. Also here and all along the river there are many evidences of beaver, but I did not see any, only their tracks. From this afternoon the river already turns to the E and sometimes to the SW. We traveled about 3 leagues more and slept in the country of the Cholbones. It is still all lagoons and tularé, although they say that already white people have been there, who left their horses half a league away.

Oct. 20.-- We set out at sunrise to find terra firma, [111] for the purpose of saying mass in the place of the Pescaderos [fishers] and a mile from where we set out the boats were stranded. Here we measured the river which already seems to run clear. It seemed to me that it's water was like that in the rancho of Monterey, and its depth on the two days preceding gave evidence of the lowness of the land. From here until we came to the mouth on the 22nd there were perhaps 9 or 10 leagues where boats could go only with difficulty. We turned back to the same site where we set out. After 4 hours when the tide had risen, we undertook the same way again. The river, had as I said, very little water and enough trees. We wanted to take this way, because the Indians said that the river had two arms and the other one joined the large river that we left on the 18th, and we found it as they said. [112]

We went 2 leagues and stopped at the rancheria of the fishers [Pescadero] called the Cholbones. The

San Josef Christians from the rancherias of the neighborhood, who were fishing, presented themselves. Father Buenaventura baptized 6 sick and decrepit gentiles and the son of a neophyte. This place, which is also an island, on the shore where we landed has several oaks on both sides, and promising land for pasture, wheat and even maize, and there are some trees that are said to be mangrove, and perhaps some time in the future they may be impenetrable.

Oct. 21.-- We sent four Indian guides ahead with tule rafts to see if our boats could pass, and they said that it would be difficult but that they thought it could be done. We set out at one o'clock and sailed until night. The arroyo was full of logs and two or three times the launches hit course to the ENE. then and it was not deep enough for [113] the boats although we went some 3 or 4 leagues and stopped at a height where there were a good many oaks, but all surrounded by tule. A league from where we set out we left the mouth that was called of the Pescadero. We left it at the right and took that of the left which went NE. And the mouth that we left formed an island, an Indian going round it on a raft, and meeting us in the large arm, he coming from above and we from below, although some of the soldiers said that it ended in the Laguna del Blanco. I figured that it was not so, but that the Lagune del Blanco emptied into the large river, and from horseback it could not very well be seen on account of the tule, and it seemed to me that it was as the Indian said. But

I could not prove it as the boats would have been stranded.

Oct. 22.-- We set out from this place of the oaks at 7 in the morning. We sailed to the SW, sometimes turning to the E. We went about 4 or 5 leagues, 2 of them still with little water. The river bank was covered with oaks and other trees that stranded the boats once. After 2 leagues we found the water tripled and the river divided in two parts, one of them being that which we left on the night of the 18th... We went on sailing up the river with three times the amount of water, the river clear and on both sides covered with trees, and after 3 leagues we came to the large river that seemed to me carried water like the Ebro in Saragossa. Here at the juncture with the river there was a depth of 5 varas ^[14 ft] in the middle and a breadth of 100 varas ^[275 ft] ^{actual} the pure water of the river, for the [115] tide was low and we knew that it had little current for the land already was high. This place is about the same parallel as the Pueblo [San Jose], as those who have come by land say, and is distant from the Pueblo 25-26 leagues from E to W, perhaps a little less. Here we knew from the great amount of water that some rivers have come together because there is no ford, and a bridge or raft would always be needed to pass it. This place is full of oaks. The other bank, the E bank, has no tule and the river only broadens out because the land to the W is lower. From here search was made for a passage to the other side. Four or 5 leagues further up

Priestley says they were much farther north.

is the ranheria of the Cosmitas¹², it joins the other little arm [116] we left yesterday. There were no other islands and it seemed to me that it would not be difficult to cross horses and cattle by swimming, and people by a bridge or raft because the current is slow and much easier than the strait of the Karquines¹². This is the only place we have seen, because it is all tule and never could be crossed. Here the river divides in two parts, the one we have taken this morning and the other near the land on the other side. We are going the shortest way which is towards the right. We set up a cross here, as we did at the division of the San Juan Capistrano River¹³. If another exploration is made it should follow up the river. On going down they should not take the mouth to the left, which is the one that we left, because this river is full of wood, and the other unless it has wood is in the middle of the tularie and for this reason has neither fish, salmon, or beaver, although as I have already said elsewhere, I have seen nothing but tracks. Here at one in the afternoon we turned, as I have said before, for the mouth. There are islands all about everywhere we have gone since the 17th. Some are very large but mostly inundated. We sailed to the NNE¹⁴ some 5 leagues because down river there was enough water for the launches and found a ranheria that was called the Coyboses. There were 70 persons of all ages and both sexes there. The ranheria has perhaps some 180 people because some were gathering seeds and the rest were known to have hidden. They seem to be a docile people. Father Buenaventura baptised one sick child, two women, one very old and the other sick, because there were already some of the San Josef Mission Christians from here. There

✓¹² Priestley: Near place where S.P.R.R. has its crossings. Arguëllo's diary speaks of it as the ranheria of the Christians, but does not give name

✓¹³ Arguëllo's diary: Carquines.

✓¹³ Main San Joaquin River. (Priestley)

✓¹⁴ Arguelo's diary NNW

were still on the riverbank and from here below the tules had already begun again. We stopped a league further down below the ran-
cheria on a height by the river where we slept this night.

[117]

Oct. 23.-- We set out at 7 this morning and went some 3 leagues to the NW, since the main direction of this river is from SW to NW, cutting out the turnings, and we found a ran-
cheria that from its size must have had 900 people, divided into three ran-
cherias, some distance from each other. We saw only the one. About 150 people of both sexes. They showed us the landing place and the same houses and gave us to understand that there were double the number of people. They had been warned [of our coming] the night before and the greater part had gone away. We gave them some presents and they gave some to us. It is an excellent

[118]

place to get salmon. We set out at 2 in the afternoon and went about 5 leagues, and halfway found a ran-
cheria with only two people who said the other people had gone. Their houses were built of petate. Here at this ran-
cheria the land is a little higher, there may be oaks on the other side and already there is solid ground at the edge of the river that we took, so the

[119]

Farther Indians assured us./down we found another ran-
cheria whose people had been fishing, and we met them as they embarked. They abandoned their balsas and hid in the tule so successfully that we saw only four persons and two dogs.. They said that they hid because they were afraid of us. Here the land was already inundated again. Today Father Buenaventura baptised some sick people. . . This afternoon we have sailed to the NW and somewhat to the N, coast. The river divides in two parts, but they immediately join again, forming an island.

Oct. 24.-- The preceding night we slept in the Tulares and the water covered them as a blanket when the tide came up. And these places are like this for some leagues. The water rises about a vara and a half and we heard the people of the rancheria, shrieking sufficiently, as I said, go away, as we knew to join the hidden people, advising them that already we had moved. We set out at six in the morning in the direction of the river, which is NW, although there are several turnings from the N to the S. We went some 7 leagues and found some mouths which enter on one side and go out by the other, but all of little consideration. It seems that they are of the same river that we followed. In the afternoon we set out, the river broadening according to the depth, more or less, in some places [121] seeming like a bay. The reason for this is that the land is very low. Three leagues from our setting out this afternoon we found the mouth that we took the 18th, and it is of the one I spoke the 22nd. Here the waters of the river again unite. Descend this branch to the left and there are some little trees like thickets, and on the opposite bank there are also some small trees. If an expedition come here another time it should leave the mouth to the right and go up the river, because it is much better and shorter. In half a league we found another mouth on the right-hand going down which is a branch of the San Francisco River[✓] which joins here with that of San Juan Capistrano^[= San Joaquin]. Only those well acquainted with the country, who made it with us, could find it. It seems small at the beginning, but then broadens out and from

✓ Priestley: = Sacramento River. "This was the first recorded navigation of the northern river."

here is navigable to the N. After a league we found two more [121] mouths, the one looking to the N and the other to the E, and according to the Indians, who say it soon ends, it seems to me that it might be from the other river of San Juan Capistrano. ^[= San Joaquin] Some of those that we have seen this morning to the right I am not certain of, but it seems so, according to what the Indians say. We went to the right, as I have said, and after a little passed a height within a grove full of trees of some size, that is also an island as we saw the two days following. On the other side of this height it is all inundated. The Indians on this day did not stop to turn to see what mouth we took. We could not search them because in whatever part they hid in the tules.

Oct. 25.-- We set out at seven in the morning and sailed N, somewhat turned toward the E, and as I have already said this is a branch of the San Francisco River. ^[= Sacramento] It is neces- [123] sary to go through this arm of the river by day because it has some trunks across the river, although it is sufficiently deep and wide. After three leagues we unexpectedly found three gentiles. They at first started off but then stopped, because one of them had already visited the mission of San Josef, two of the gentiles with others were neophytes of the mission of San Josef. We dispatched them to the rancheria in order not to take them by surprise and the third we took in the boat. After two leagues we saw the rancheria that was in two parts on either side of the river. As soon as they saw us they began a great outcry notwith-

standing they gave us signs as to where the river was [123]
 deepest. The two guides that we had sent tried to quiet
 them and did good work. Sergeant Sanchez and all the others
 of the troop, except those that remained to care for the
 boats, landed. But still they were excited. Finally they
 were quieted. This rancheria, as I have already said, is [124]
 divided on both sides of the river, that is perhaps 30 or
 40 varas wide. I gave them some little presents
 and they gave the neophytes acorn atole and I paid them with
 beads. The rancheria has 60 houses. There were about 200
 men there because other rancherias had joined them and they
 had already told us that they were going to fight the
Tauquimenes. There were many people but they only let us
 see the old women; the young women and the boys and girls
 were hidden or in the grove or in the same houses. After we
 had been there some little time, 16 young men came to us,
 restless as was their custom. One of their chiefs and a
 tall woman ran to repress them and took away their bows. We
 ate, although sufficiently incommoded, because all of them
 were never pacified. They said that they acted so because [125]
 they had been told that we had killed all the people of the
 rancheria of the Coyboses, which is near the fishing place.
 on one of the arms of the San Juan Capistrano River. ^[= San Joaquin] It may
 be several rancherias have been united in this narrow place
 in order, some said, to gather acorns because there are many
 groves. Finally we restored peace and went away, although I
 told them before we left if they wanted to fight to take their

arms, but they said no. We went about a mile and came to the [125] river where it divides in two mouths. It is a good river and has enough water. The river keeps to the N and we went down by the W branch and the same gentiles already came out to meet us and show us the way. This division of mouths is to the E of the Mission of San Francisco and 28 or 30 leagues away. After going down the river a league we came to another rancheria that has 14 houses. In this rancheria there were already [126] some of the men that there had been in the preceding rancheria. They showed us where to land and they were very affable, but we saw only two or three elderly women and we went on finding other rancherias of two or three houses; and it is known that all of them have united on this point. We went some 12 leagues in all today, in which there may have been some 200 people, yet it might be that there are more, because in the first there might have been 1000 according to the large size of the houses. They are 28 or 30 varas in circumference with their orcun in the middle. They say that farther up there are sufficient people who are gathering acorns. All that we have gone today which is part of an island, is covered with trees of several kinds and very good sized on both banks. There are many walnuts and wild vines, and so think that they say [127] they have seen arbors in good lands where the stems have not been so thick. The land on both sides is sufficiently high and is excellent for planting^{where it is not inundated}. Going up the river the Indian guides told us there is another mouth as large or larger than the one we are on, and this is true because the

following day we found, on going down, that it joins with [127]
 this and has twice the water and consequently farther up it
 would be a river little less than the San Juan Capistrano.
 At length we camped on a height where we slept, which was
 covered with trees of the aforesaid species.

Oct. 26.--We set out at seven in the morning, the river
 being sufficient and the boats stranded in two places because
 the tide was very low, but there was a channel on the sides.
 After $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues we found the mouth that we spoke of the pre-
 ceding day and which has double the water of the river. It is
 about 7 ^[= 19 ft] varas deep and 400 ^[= 100 ft] broad. And going down from here there
 seems to be an arm of the sea. . . The two are the San Francisco
 River, which with the one we left yesterday make the three mouths [128]
 and consequently form two islands, and above where all the water
 comes together, it makes a very large river; but perhaps it might
 not be as large as the San Francisco. Down here where the two
 mouths come together there is a rancheria called Los Ompines; there
 are already some baptized in San Josef, because they cross to the
 opposite shore. Throughout the day we went some 12 leagues and
 we stopped at length at the hillock which is opposite the high
 hill of the Bolbones, which is very bare, for there are no trees [129]
 or bushes, but the elk go in droves because there are large plains
 with a sort of hillock below. Here they have to assist those that
 want to sail by this San Francisco River (as we have heard that they
 called it before) ^[= Sacramento River] and according to the Indians they went through here

to turn the goletas. They went where we slept the 17th. [129]
 It seemed to me that they entered and went out from here.
 That is without going up because there is no water for the
goletas. The 6 leagues that we have gone today were covered,
 as I have said before, with several kinds of trees, and the
 other six very bare. This river of San Francisco is good for
 any kind of establishment. It has many people but it cannot
 be crossed except in boats. The narrowest places are the
 Port of San Francisco and the Strait of the Karquines or
 the end of San Juan Capistrano River.

Oct. 27.-- We celebrated mass in the little hillock of the
Ompines. We set out at 11 o'clock and went some 12 [130]
 leagues, six toward N¹ and the rest turning in an estero of
 fresh water¹², joined to the land on the opposite coast, and we
 slept on a height about a league before reaching the plain
 of the Suisunes. Everywhere we have gone today the hills
 are low and very bare; through all this not one arroyo
 enters. Traveling through here to reach the Suisunes, it is
 necessary to have a moderate sea in order not to beach the
 boats.

Oct. 28.-- After celebrating mass we went about a league
 and stopped at the end of the estero of the Suisunes. We
 landed in a large plain, good land and at a short distance
 everywhere covered with oak and live oak and particularly the
 hills and hillocks. The hill of the Bolbones is some 12 [131]
 leagues to the SW. We sent four neophytes of the Mission
 of San Francisco, natives of the same site, to notify their

Priestley: ¹Nurse Slough; ¹²Montezuma Creek

countrymen, and 50 men presented themselves from two [131]
 rancherias entirely unarmed and they brought us coras (baskets)
 which is what they greatly esteem, and they gave us feathers
 from their battles. We also gave presents. The rancherias
 are called Malaka and Suisun. This last is divided into three
 parts, as I have said; they are near as they said, and a
 short time ago they were living here on the shore according to
 the signs. About two leagues from here on the shore, more or
 less, is where Alf. Gabriel Moraga punished them. The poor
 people have taken warning of it for they are much afraid.
 Another rancheria called Ululato is farther away. They have
 told us that they want to fight, but act to the contrary, be-
 cause they have not ventured to visit us, and in fear they [132]
 sent us about 18 baskets of no great value, which they sent by
 a Suisun. They said, as he brought word, that they were
 afraid to come; that they sent their baskets by the hand of a
Suisun, and we sent word to them not to be afraid, but they
 did not appear. It is known that this people are very gentle
 and timorous. The place is good for establishments, but is
 difficult of access except for boats by the straits of the Bay
 (Puerto) or of the Karquines.

Oct. 29.-- We set out at two in the morning and arrived at
 the Strait of the Karquines as the sun came out. The two parts
 of which we have gone this morning already make a large bay and
 before reaching the strait it is already salt water. The
 hillocks of the Karquines also are barren. We stopped below
 the strait some four hours, and in the afternoon arrived at the
 Arguello's diary; Malaca, Suisun, Carquines
 Priestley: "modern Ulatis"

island of Los Angeles in front of the Presidio. We went with [132]
sail all the afternoon with a regular wind . . . ^{la}The [134]
rancheria cited of the Suisunes lies to the NE of the
Chupanes, land behind the hill, of the Karquines.

Mission of San Francisco, October 31, 1811.

P. Ramon Abella, Diario de un Registro de los Rios Grandes,
October 15-30, 1811.

↳Argüello's diary omits this sentence.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDIAN RANCHERIA OF APALAMES ^{near}

~~ON SITE OF~~ PRESENT TOWN OF MARTINEZ

Jose Maria Amador, who was born at San Francisco in 1794 and whose father was a sergeant of the first company at San Francisco, gives the following account of a very early campaign against the Indian rancheria of Apalames near the site of the present town of Martinez.

"Although my father took part in numerous campaigns (5) against the Indians before he retired I can relate only one that took place on the site of El Hambre in the rancheria of Apalames. Here a soldier lost an eye from one of the Indian's arrows, and one of my brothers (Fructuoso) accompanied by another soldier (Hilario Meranda) got lost. The two were lost six days and for this reason the place where the troops had to camp was named El Hambre [The Hunger]. The Indians were severely punished. Several were killed (6) by our people and 50 more or less made prisoners. They were taken to San Francisco and put to work at public toil. The rancherias of this region were not well populated. This site of El Hambre is a canyon situated on this side of Martinez."

Jose Maria Amador, *Memorias sobre Historica California*
[Recollections of California History] MS Bancroft Library,
pp. 5-6, 1877

Translation by S.R. Clemence, 1917.

[1]

CAMPAIGN AGAINST RANCHERIAS LOECHAS & PITEMIS

NEAR SITE OF LIVERMORE, ALAMEDA CO., CALIF.

Jose Maria Amador, who was a soldier in the San Francisco Company 1810-1817, tells of a campaign in 1805 against Indians of the rancheria of Loechas, near present town of Livermore, who fled to rancheria of the Pitemis on San Joaquin River, where they were routed. The account is given in MS notes in the Bancroft Library and is as follows:

"In the year 1805 the late Ignacio Higuera, Joaquin ⁽¹³⁾ Higuera and Antonio Sanchez set out to accompany Padre Pedro Cuevas of San Jose Mission who was going to punish some gentile Indians of the rancheria of the Loechas, about 14 leagues E of the Mission, above the present town of Livermore and 4 or 5 leagues away from it. The Indians, on the arrival of the Padre and his soldiers, took arms against them, shooting at the Padre and at one of the soldiers, and ⁽¹⁴⁾ at the majordomo Ignacio Higuera. Señor Higuera defended himself as long as his ammunition lasted, and then the Indians captured him alive and shot him with arrows. After his death they cut off his hands and scalped him. The Padre and the soldiers Joaquin Higuera escaped with the little ammunition they had left and hid in a rock cave where both wounded men remained until night. The other soldiers, Sanchez and Alvisu fled to the Mission and told what had happened. In the dead of night the Padre and Joaquin

Higuera left the cave and succeeded in reaching the mission, (14) traveling on foot through the hills and hiding themselves from the Indians.

Then Lieut. Gabriel Moraga and his men set out to punish the offenders who were already on their way to the San Joaquin (15) River to a rancheria named Pitemis. After a light combat, they seized the Indians, men, women and children, the women and children being sent to San Jose Mission to be christianized and the men put at making adobes for the presidio at San Francisco. . . I went on that expedition together with several citizens of the pueblo of San Jose, to help out because there were but few soldiers. "

Jose Maria Amador, Memorias sobre Historia de California
[Recollections of Calif. Hist.] MS, Bancroft Library,
pp. 13-15, 1877

Translated by S.R.Clemence, June 1917.

CAMPAIGN OF SANTA ROSA AND BODEGA.

Jose Maria Amador, in Recollections dictated by him for the Bancroft Library, gives the following account of the campaign of Santa Rosa and Bodega before 1823, in which they had an encounter with the Indians.

"On one occasion I went on an expedition with Captain A. Arguello. I cannot remember the year but it took place before Arguello was Governor, so that would be before the year 1823. We went to Santa Rosa by way of Napa. Here in an arroyo about 200 Indians approached us one morning. We were on this side of a little stream; they began to shoot at us. The Captain was determined not to take arms against them on any account, and he spoke to them by means of an interpreter in order to pacify them. Finally the Captain lost patience when he found the Indians would not stop shooting their arrows at us. He ordered us to take our guns in hand, (there were 25 of us), and fire at the hostile ones. We fired once only and charged with lances into an immense oak grove. We killed some of them until the Captain ordered us to stop, and then we went on to the north, taking to the mountains and changing our course towards Bodega. The Indians surrounded us on all sides. We kept on the march to a place called Livantuyolomi. On this course we succeeded in catching two Indian chiefs whom Arguello ordered given 200 lashes apiece, and sent back without their arms. This expedition was undertaken for the purpose of calming all the Indians;

so that when the troops entered the country they would make no opposition and use no force against our soldiers. From there we went on to the Presidio of Ross to pay a visit to the Commander of the Russians. We remained there two days treated very courteously by them, and returned to San Francisco.

Jose Maria Amador, *Memorias sobre la Historia de California*,
[Recollections of the History of California] pp. MS, Bancroft
Library, 1877.

EXPEDITION FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO "COLUMBIA RIVER" UNDER LIEUT. MORAGA

Jose Maria Amador, who was a soldier in the San Francisco Company from 1810-1827 and who took part in many campaigns against the Indians, in Recollections given to the Bancroft Library, tells of meeting Indians on Moraga's Expedition to the Columbia River in 1819. [1921]

[1921]

"In the year 1819 an expedition set out from San Francisco under (19) command of Capt. Luis Arguello, with 73 soldiers, an officer Alferez Sanchez and the Sergeant Francisco Soto. Among the soldiers there were 25 infantry from the company of San Blas, although all were mounted. (20) I was at that time commanding the guard at Santa Cruz, but was relieved so that I could go on the expedition, in fact I went as orderly to Capt. Arguello. We sent 400 beasts on ahead, crossing by the Strait of Carquinez. We went through the valley of the River Jesus Maria; [Probably Stony Creek - C.M.] reaching the Trinidad River, after 21 days. On the way we had a skirmish with some Indians on a temescal. (The temescals here were low and on a level with the ground). The commander had forbidden us to shoot at all, but the Indians began to pelt us with darts. Then Capt. Arguello ordered down one of the six cannon that the mules carried. He brought the gun to bear on the temescal with orders not to harm any of the natives but to shoot into the air. [I aimed at them and took off 7 (21) Indians, for which the Captain afterwards wanted to punish me, but he could prove nothing so I escaped punishment. . .

The troop continued its march N through the entire plain of the river and the natives frightened by our cannonading (saying a bull roared and frightened us) were continually coming out to meet us with banners of tapajos or birds' feathers and pita de immortal [~~century plant?~~] (very white like that of the maguey) giving us presents and accompany-

[2]

ing us to the next ranheria. In this interval of a week on the road 22
we found one ^{temescal} ~~ranheria~~ which was about 200 varas ^[550 ft] at the ground. The
Captain out of curiosity ordered all of the people to come out, the
soldiers entering and putting them out of the temescal. They stood
them all up in line, the men on one side and the women on the other,
and counted at least 3000 people. This seems incredible, but it is
the exact truth without exaggeration. We went on without giving any
presents to these Indians, because truth to tell from the time we set
out the expedition carried scarcely food enough to sustain us until
we reached the Columbia.

Our guide was an Englishman named John Gilroy, the man for whom
the town of Gilroy was named. He had told us that he was well ac-
quainted with the route to the Columbia, and so he was but by a differ-
ent way from the one we took. His route was by the mountain; ours
through the valley. When we discovered this we took an Indian guide
from the Trinidad River, ^{[[!]]} who reached the Columbia in two days by cross-
ing the mountain. From there we turned back and took to the mountain
coming out on a line with the presidio of Ross. We spent 12 days
crossing the mountain, killing horses or mules that gave out and burn-
ing the trappings so that they might not fall into the hands of the
Indians. We arrived at San Rafael and went back to San Francisco.
Shortly afterward perhaps in April or May we went to explore Bodega
with Lieut. Moraga."

Jose Maria Amador, Memorias sobre Histori~~as~~ de Calif. [Recollections
of Calif. Hist.]. pp. 19-23, MS. Bancroft Library, 1877.

Translation by S.R. Clemence, 1918.

Jose Maria Amador, a soldier in the San Francisco Company from 1810-1827 in Recollections given to the Bancroft Library, notes the following names given to rivers in Central Calif. by Lieut. Moraga on an Indian campaign in 1824.

"In the year 1824 I went on another expedition with Lieut. Moraga to the opposite side of the river as far as a place called Cerritos Cuates. In the diary that the lieutenant carried he gave the following names to rivers on our return trip. To the river of the Cerritos Cuates, the name Jesus Maria; to the river farther on at Marysville, the name of the Sacramento; an arm of the Sacramento he named American River; at the rancheria of Cósumnes it was called Rio la Pasion; at the Moquelemes we called the river Guadalupe; passing by Estanislao the river there was named San Francisco; next we passed the Jabálumes where the river was named Dolores. Then we went to Kings River. Going on to a deep ditch (zanjon) in the vicinity we named it Arroyo del Zanjon de San Jose. Farther on we gave the name Mariposas to a river. Then we gave the lake in the tules the name of Buena Vista (its Indian name being "of the Taches". As soon as we passed the lake and were headed for Santa Barbara we were met with the news of the uprising of the Christian Indians of La Purisima and Santa Ynez. Then Lieut. Moraga took 14 prisoners of the ringleaders and standing them up in a row

(18)

(19)

ordered them to be shot. From here we went on to Santa Barbara and I returned to San Francisco bearing important messages and leaving an expedition in Santa Barbara preparing to go in pursuit of the Indians who had fled to the lake of Buena Vista. My companions informed me that they succeeded in capturing all the ringleaders and sentenced them to work in the presidio." (19)

Jose Maria Amador, *Memorias sobre Historia de Calif.*
[Recollections of Calif. Hist.], pp. 18-19,
Bancroft Library, 1877

Translation by S.R. Clemence 1918

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES GIVEN BY SPANISH

Central Calif.

Jose Maria Amador (a soldier in the San Francisco Company from 1810-1827), in Recollections given to the Bancroft Library, notes the following names given to rivers in central California by Lieut. Moraga on an Indian campaign in 1824:

"In the year 1824 I went on another expedition [18] with Lieutenant Moraga to the opposite side of the river as far as a place called Cerritos Cuates. From here we returned through the south without having met any Indians. In the diary that the lieutenant kept on the return he gave the following names to rivers. To the river of the Cerritos Cuates, the name Jesús María; to the river farther on at Marysville, the name of the Sacramento; an arm of the (at the rancheria of Cósunes it was called Río la Pasión) Sacramento he named American River; at the Moqueleemes we called the river Guadalupe; passing by Estanislao the river ^[Tahualnunes] there was named San Francisco; next we passed the Tabálumes where the river was named Dolores. Then we went to Kings River. Going on to a deep ditch (zanjon) in the vicinity we named it Arroyo del Zanjon de San Jose. Farther on we gave the name Mariposas to a river. Then we gave the lake in the tules the name of Buena Vista (its Indian name being "of the Taches". As soon [as we passed the lake and were [19] headed for Santa Barbara we were met with the news of the

[19]
uprising of the Christian Indians of La Purisima and Santa Ynez. Then Lieut. Moraga took 14 prisoners of the ringleaders and standing them up in a row ordered them to be shot. From here we went on to Santa Barbara and I returned to San Francisco bearing important messages and leaving an expedition in Santa Barbara preparing to go in pursuit of the Indians who had fled to the lake of Buena Vista. My companions informed me that they succeeded in capturing all the ringleaders and sentenced them to work in the presidio."

Jose Maria Amador, *Memorias sobre Historia de Calif.*
[Recollections of Calif. Hist.], pp. 18-19, MS Bancroft Library,
1877.

Translation by S. R. Clemence, 1918.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ESTANISLAO.

José Maria Amador gives the following account of the campaign under José Anto. Sanchez and Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo against the Indians under Estanislao, in his Recollections given to the Bancroft Library:

"A year afterward in May 1828, there was a campaign at the [43] Estanislao River in charge of Alfz. José Anto. Sanchez with 30 soldiers and 200 Indian aides, Moquelemnes and other Indian tribes to a place called the Stockade. The expedition set out on the same day that I married my second wife, (Josefa Sanchez Ortega of Santa Barbara). They were all in the dining-room until the afternoon when they set out on their march. I was one of these named but as I was [mayordomo of the mission, Alferez Sanchez, for a consideration, asked me for a vaquero to drive the horses and excused me from going on the expedition. I gave him instructions concerning the way he should take the rancheria that was going to be attacked, because they had murdered some Christian Indians and stolen some horses. The people of this rancheria were for the most part Christians, I advised Sanchez that he should set fire to the wood round about to succeed in taking the Indians, but he did not do so. He thought to take them with his armed party, but he was mistaken. He set out for the skirmish with some of the soldiers wounded without having succeeded in taking one of the Indians from the rancheria. He returned to render an account to his commander, ~~then~~ Alferez Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo set out from Monterey with his troop to join those from San Francisco commanded by Alfz. Sanchez. The united troops (55 men) and some 200 Indian aides set out for the expedition in the [45] Stockade to avenge the past defeat. The Indians of the rancheria took the precaution to prepare themselves for the attack.

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They had made excavations throughout the wood that communicated with each other underground. These excavations were at a distance of some 10 varas apart. ^[27 ft] There the Indians waited and shot their arrows. Action having begun, Vallejo, as commander, ordered Alfz. Sanchez to enter into battle with his troop, he himself remaining in the field in safety taking care of his skin. Sanchez obeyed and entered the wood with his people and the Indians began to shoot. Sanchez cried to the Monterey soldiers giving them blows with his sword, 'Advance, cowards!' Alferez Sanchez had heard the Monterey soldiers making derogatory remarks concerning the soldiers of ^{the} San Francisco company because of the bad ending of the last expedition. They had been heard to say insulting things concerning the valor of the San Franciscans and boasted that they were going to make them ^[46] see that they were superior, and they were going to catch the hostile Indians barehanded. But when the hour arrived to fulfill these promises, many of them, that is the boasters, did not do it. The Indians showed themselves superior to them. Seeing the uselessness of the attack through all this mined region ^{the} Alferez returned with all his people outside the wood. He was minus 4 soldiers of his camp. He entered with soldiers to seek there, and found 2 seriously wounded through the head and the entire body. Manuel Peña and Lorenzo Pacheco were their names. Peña had a swelling on the side of his head where the arrow had entered and another on the opposite side where it came out. They took these two out of the wood. Sanchez reentered in search of the other two. The Indians had caught them drinking water. They did not kill them, but hid them. They were called Andres Mesa and Ignacio Pacheco.

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The expedition did not get them nor take a single prisoner. I did not know if the troop killed or wounded any of those who were in the excavations. The expedition marched to Tahuálumes, leaving the [47] wounded ones in camp with a guard. Arriving at Tahuálumes they killed some of the enemy. The greater part of them got away by the water without being seen. The expedition then returned to the Stockade the following day. The enemy Indians had escaped by way of the mountains. Outside the wood the troop found Andres Mesa and Ignacio Pacheco tied with hazel shoots. The Indians had tied them and burned them alive. [??] The expedition then retired each part returning to its respective destination.....

Thus finished the history of the unfortunate campaign [48] against the Stockade of the Estanislao River under the command of Dn. Mariano Vallejo.

I may say here that ~~during~~ the epidemic of small-pox in 1839, the Captain of this rancheria called Estanislao died, together with many of his companions in the Mission of San José."

Jose Maria Amador, Memorias sobre la Historia de California, [Recollections of the History of California] pp 43-48, MS, Bancroft Library 1877.

Translated by S. R. Clemence, 1918.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ESTANISLAO

The following account of Sanchez' campaign against the Indians under Estanislao is given in Alvarado's manuscript *Historia de California*, Vol.2, (1824-1834), pp.57-66.

Bancroft Library:

"Four years after the uprising of the neophytes of the ex-missions of Purisima, Santa Ynez, and Santa Barbara, some chiefs of tribes, --by name Estanislao (commander-in-chief), Telmo, El Barbon, and Discolo, all chiefs of tribes considered friendly and affiliated with the ex-missions of San José and Santa Clara, yet in spite of this circumstance preserving a great influence among the tribes to the east of the coast where they were born--- agreed among themselves to undertake a great insurrection. The general-in-chief, Estanislao, had been educated with all care at the ex-mission of San José, and in the same manner and for the same reasons the Padres had imparted an excellent education to General Pacomio of the ex-mission of Purisima. Estanislao knew how to read and write and had natural talent, and these were the reasons that induced the priests to choose him for educating; the name Estanislao was given him because he was born on the shores of this river. (57)

As it was not possible for these chiefs, owing to the interception of the runners, to communicate with the movement initiated by Pacomio, 5 years after the miscarriage of this conspiracy, they projected a plan even more terrible, and (58)

proposed to carry it out by means of the cooperation of the numerous tribes who were not suspected of enmity toward the whites, for they had always lived at peace, and although they were not reduced to the regime of the Mission, they had their treaties with the missionairies, and their chiefs wore suspended from their necks the commission of chief awarded by the Governor of California.

Estanislao's plan was to form a fortification near the river which bears the same name as the revolutionary chief; after the fortification was ready the insurrectionists formed their battle camp near their improvised fort which was called Estacada de Estanislao,. Here in a large wood which was situated by the banks of the river, the Indians made their parapets in the following manner. They dug ditches on the side opening from the valley and made them so as to prevent the crossing of the cavalry of whom they were most afraid; and they then dug^a mine in the middle of the woods, so that they could shoot their arrows from some openings that communicated with a subterranean passage; these openings were sufficiently wide to cover the body and permit the free movement of the arms in drawing their arrows; they left a center free so as to permit the enemy to enter, and as a result were so situated that they did not present a front in case of assault and attack from all directions. This mine or subterranean passage was open on the side of the river and several roads commu-

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nicated with ~~it~~, so that whatever occurred to force them to retire they could escape to the opposite side of the river, where they could make a second attack, reconcentrating there ~~all~~ their forces, or make a retreat to the mountains in case they were routed.

In the tops of the trees at regular intervals were stationed sentinals or lookouts, each provided with an ox-skin which served them as a horn to give warning to the army in the subterranean passage, to whom they announced the approach of the enemy by means of blows or sounds which were not intelligible to the enemy, but which were understood by them, for they had agreed upon them beforehand. In this manner as I have explained, Estanislao constructed and organized the military position, and had made his preparations in a very quiet way and in accord with his allied chiefs.

When Estanislao considered all his preparations made in the best possible manner, he raised the cry of insurrection, and in a few days nearly 5000 warriors, all armed with bows and arrows, assembled in the palisade. The movements of these war-like Indians being known to the Commander of the Presidio ^{of San Francisco,} under whose jurisdiction belonged the territory in which the Indians assembled for war, he immediately sent out a detachment of troops to quell the hostile movement before the call to the disturbance could communicate itself to other places. The command of the

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forces sent to fight against Estanislao was entrusted to the famous warrior, the Lieutenant of the Presidio forces, Don José Sanchez ; this official had in former times fought against the northern Indians, and had much experience and the knowledge necessary to direct the attack against the clever and astute Indian who had organized the revolution, and was planning to lead the attack against the forces sent to dislodge them. Lieutenant Sanchez marched to the place designated by his chief, having under him a force of twenty men; a very small number indeed to enable him to succeed in his enterprise. But when he set out from San Francisco, he was ignorant of the cleverness with which the enemy had fortified itself in the wood, and also of the number of warriors which were hidden in it. When Lieutenant Sanchez perceived the great ditch or excavation which surrounded the stockade, he was convinced that his cavalry could not penetrate the wood to give assault to the Indians, and ordered his soldiers to dismount and led the attack immediately with great boldness. They had gone but a few steps when such a cloud of arrows was discharged against them that they could not see whence they came, for it rained arrows on all sides, and it angered the Lieutenant more, that as soon as they could distinguish the bodies of men, the Indians then discharged their arrows and hid in the mine, and came out at a different point. In such a conflict, the Lieutenant Sanchez who had already lost three men from the diminished ranks of his soldiers, ordered the retreat, and

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left these unfortunate companions-in-arms in the power of the enemy. This kind of action was not characteristic of Lieutenant Sanchez, but on this occasion he followed the counsel of prudence, for his good sense told him that with the 17 men he could not attack with the hope of conquering the 1000 Indians who had fortified the wood. The retreat of the soldiers was a great disappointment to the Indians who at the same time that they uttered a general cry of victory uttered also war-cries so loud and ringing that Sanchez understood he could have no hope for victory against an enemy so numerous and so anxious for battle. He began his retreat, leaving his three dead soldiers on the battle field; as soon as Sanchez had departed, the Indians got down from the trees, took off the scalps of the victims, and burned their bodies in a great bonfire, and while they were burning they danced around the bonfire different dances after the style and custom of the savages. " (61)

SECOND ATTACK ON THE FORTIFICATIONS OF ESTANISLAO.

" As soon as the defeat of Alferez Sánchez was known in San Francisco, the commander of the Presidio sent to the Governor of the territory an account of the circumstances, which were so important that it was not considered prudent to keep them from the authorities; in view of the gravity of the situation of the case, he gave orders that Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo then Alferez of the Presidio of Monterey, should ^{immediately} march to punish with great severity this rebellion that each day was presenting a more formidable aspect; for it was known that as a result of the victory gained by the insurrectionists, their forces had been greatly increased not only by the incorporation by Estanislao of ^{savage} tribes that up to this time had remained neutral, but by many of the Indians already baptised at the Missions of San José and Santa Clara were hastening to lend their services under ^{and also the guards of the mission were growing very careless.} Estanislao,.....Alferez Vallejo, who at the age of 21 was chosen to direct warfare under conditions, when there had taken place an insurrection more formidable than had ever been seen in California, prepared his company and with the aid of the young men of Monterey and San José started for the place known as Estanislao Stockade, which he found better defended than Lt. Sanchez had.....the Indians, encouraged by their first victory, were ^{than ever} ~~more~~ vainglorious, and had no doubt that with equal ease they could overthrow the small force that their advance guards had notified them was marching against them. Alferez Vallejo when he had brought his company to the neighborhood of the place where he proposed to give battle, approached the fortification

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without stopping, observed the ditch or stockade and prepared to [64] attack it, an action which ~~by great fury~~ could dislodge the enemy from its position. The Indians, warned of the approach of the Christians, with great babble, had lighted great stacks of wood in different parts of the forest, covering it with a thick smoke, to prevent the enemy from finding out the preparations they made to defend themselves; so by the time that Alferez Vallejo had approached the Indian fortress the warriors stationed in the tops of the trees sounded the horns which served in place of trumpets, and by means of signals agreed upon beforehand gave warning to Estanislao and the other chiefs of the approach of the Christians. Under such circumstances, Vallejo divided his forces, sending one part to cover the openings of the mine that led to the river, these means being adopted for the purpose of cutting off the retreat; the rest of the troops he kept with him, placing himself at the head of the valiant soldiers he prepared to take possession of the various other openings that led to distinct points from the center of the fortress; all subordinate to this immense and infernal cave. Before proceeding to the decisive attack, Alferez Vallejo talked to his soldiers, who were ^{all} the youth of the time, and sons of the first conquerors; in his discourse he made them understand ^{that there could be no doubt of} the victory over the barbarians, and in order to stimulate them in this belief he made allusion to a large number of battles of the past, very small numbers having fought and killed thousands of savage Indians, who were hidden in the ~~wilds~~ of this peninsula, whose [hidden fields [65] were peppered with barbarous tribes. He also instructed them

very particularly as to the manner in which they must hurl themselves against their opponents, whom they were to approach as close as possible, and where it was possible to get near enough to fight them with cold steel, because if they could, the force of the arrows would be destroyed as they could only wound at a distance of fifty varos; and so having finished with his instructions he ordered the attack. The Indians in the same manner in which they had attacked the previous forces, discharged their arms, this time taking effect among many of the soldiers, who with great boldness threw themselves into the great battle, and were exposed to a rain of arrows that came not only from the caves but also from the tops of the trees, where a multitude of Indians were situated to discharge arrows from above. But Alferez Vallejo, who had not lost a propitious moment for executing his plans, ordered everything with so much cleverness and astuteness, that in the end his forces were crowned with the most favorable success; for his soldiers took possession of the cave mine after horrible slaughter of those who defended it, and also of those in the trees who acted as sentinels and for ambush: these attacks against the mouth of the mine frightened the Indians so much that seeing the ^{enemy} had the more advantageous points, they hastened to the entrance of the subterranean passage that came out on the side of the river, but being met there by the other forces, they made a last effort to force their escape and reach the river. But not being able to do this without an

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encounter almost man to man, they decided to close the passage, fighting with daggers, with which arms the Indians were well provided. From this desperate fight resulted a new massacre more horrible than the first, for the Estanislao River was dyed with blood for the 5 hours the combat lasted.....With the death of the Indians who had tried to escape by means of the mine^{openings} at the side of the river, there ended the clash of arms that was transmitted to posterity under the name of the Battle of Estanislao Stockade. As a trophy of this victory, Alferez Vallejo brought toa multitude of prisoners, who were treated with much consideration by their conquerors."

Alvarado, Historia de California, Vol.2, (1824-1834), pp.62-66.

[MS not dated]

Bancroft Library

Translated by
Frances Mulheron - 1918.